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In memory of Leslie S. B. MacCoull

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—Judges 6.23

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Writing "with Joyful and Leaping Soul"

Sacralization, Scribal Hands, and Ceremonial in the Lincoln College Typikon

NIELS GAUL

The famous "golden chain" (χρυσέαν σειράν)[1] of family and donor portraits prefacing the manuscript Oxford, Lincoln College, graecus 35—commonly known as the Lincoln College Typikon—leads the observer back into that bustling "Constantinople of the three Theodoras" in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.[2] A few decades after the city had been reconquered from the Latins, aristocratic widows, often of imperial descent and epitomized in the figures of the *protobestiaria* Theodora Raoulaina, the *despoina* (empress) Theodora Palaiologina, and the *megale stratopedarchissa* Theodora Synadene, played a prominent role in reestablishing monastic foundations.[3]

The anti-union and, subsequently, Arsenite Theodora Raoulaina (ca. 1240–1300),[4] a daughter

1 In its original context, the phrase "golden chain"—Lincoln College Typikon (herein, LCT) 23.24 (§7), trans. *BMFD* 4:1525—refers solely to Theodora Synadene's family tree, not the series of frontispieces. For the Greek text of the LCT see H. Delehaye, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels, 1921), 18–105 with C. Baur, "Le Typikon du monastère de Nôtre-Dame tes bebaias elpidos," *RHE* 29 (1933): 635–36; for an excellent English translation with introduction and commentary, A.-M. Talbot, "*Bebaia Elpis: Typikon* of Theodora Synadene for the Convent of the Mother of God *Bebaia Elpis* in Constantinople," in *BMFD* 4:1512–78. For most translations I have relied on the *BMFD*; other translations, unless otherwise specified, are my own.

2 The images are reproduced in I. Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften*, vol. 5, *Oxford College Libraries* (Stuttgart, 1997), 56–62 (no. 24) with figs. 201–21 and color figs. 6–18.

3 For succinctness' sake I have unduly abbreviated their cumulations of imperial/aristocratic family names. On these foundresses and the continuing restoration of Constantinople see A.-M. Talbot, "Building Activity in Constantinople under Andronikos II: The Role of Women Patrons in the Construction and Restoration of Monasteries," in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. N. Necipoğlu (Leiden–Boston, 2001), 329–43, esp. 333–39, and V. Kidonopoulos, "The Urban Physiognomy of Constantinople from the Latin Conquest through the Palaiologan Era," in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557): Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture*, ed. S. T. Brooks (New York–New Haven, 2006), 98–117, who provides a convenient survey, listing no fewer than twenty-seven refoundations or restorations and fourteen new foundations for the 1261 to 1328 period. For details see idem, *Bauten in Konstantinopel 1204–1328: Verfall und Zerstörung, Restaurierung, Umbau und Neubau von Profan- und Sakralbauten* (Wiesbaden, 1994). Another aristocratic foundress with close relations to the convent of the Theotokos of Certain Hope is Theodora Synadene's cousin through the female, Branas line, Maria/Martha Doukaina Komnene Branaina Palaiologina (*PLP* #4202/27511), who refounded, together with her husband, the *protostrator* Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotes, the (male) monastery of the Theotokos Pammakaristos and, on her own, a convent named after her (*tes Glabainas*) which was—according to LCT 95.15–18 (§145), trans. *BMFD* 4:1563—adjacent to the convent of the Theotokos of Certain Hope; see Kidonopoulos, *Bauten in Konstantinopel*, 80–86 (no. 1.1.37: Pammakaristos) and 41–42 (no. 1.1.16: *tes Glabainas*); Talbot, "Building Activity," 340; A. Effenberger, "Zu den Eltern der Maria Dukaina Komnene Branaina Tarchaneiotissa," *JÖB* 57 (2007): 169–82.

4 On whom cf. *PLP* #10943; S. Kotzabassi, "Scholarly Friendship in the Thirteenth Century: Patriarch Gregorios II Kyprios and Theodora Raoulaina," *Parekbolai* 1 (2011): 115–70 and A. Riehle, "Καὶ σε προστάτιν ἐν αὐτοῖς τῆς αὐτῶν ἐπιγράψομεν σωτηρίας: Theodora Raulaina als Stifterin und Patronin," in *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. L. Theis, M. Mullett, and

of Michael VIII's anti-union sister Eirene/Eulogia Palaiologina and widow of the *protobestiarios* Ioannes Raoul, refounded the convent of Hagios Andreas *en te Krisei* in the mid-1280s.[5] Theodora Palaiologina (ca. 1240–1303),[6] granddaughter of the *sebastokrator* Ioannes Doukas, grandniece of Emperor John III Batatzes and wife of Emperor Michael VIII (r. 1259–1282), became the refoundress of two convents after her "heretical" husband's death in December 1282, first of the Holy Anargyroi and later (after May 1294), and more importantly, of the original tenth-century convent of the Theotokos of Lips (on whose typikon see below).[7]

The youngest of the three, Theodora Synadene (ca. 1265/68–ca. 1330), was born to the *sebastokrator* Konstantinos Palaiologos, Michael VIII's younger half-brother, and his wife Eirene Branaina. At a young age and as part of Michael VIII's scheme to form aristocratic marriage networks,[8] she was married to the *megas stratopedarches* Ioannes Synadenos, seemingly her senior by many years. Following Synadenos's death about a decade later Theodora executed a long-harbored plan—"in some obscure fashion I conceived in the womb of my heart and gave birth to this truly good and holy and divine love and desire"[9]—to found the convent of the Theotokos of Certain Hope (τῆς Θεοτόκου τῆς βεβαίας ἐλπίδος) as a retreat for herself, her daughter Euphrosyne, who was dedicated to the convent as a child and equally styled as foundress, and female members of the family.[10] At the same time and as was the custom, it served as a burial place also for male members of the family. This convent's construction must have roughly coincided with Theodora Palaiologina's refoundation, with equal intention, of the convent of Lips.[11] To assume that a fair amount of competition may have been involved in these various Palaiologan projects does not seem too far from the truth.[12]

The convent of the Theotokos of Certain Hope would be virtually unknown if not for the auspicious survival of one manuscript containing the convent's typikon, nowadays in the possession of Lincoln College, Oxford. This manuscript was acquired in Athens by Sir George Wheler (1650–1723), an alumnus

M. Grünbart with G. Fingarova and M. Savage (Vienna, 2012) = *WJKg* 60–61 (2011–12): 299–315.

5 Terminus post quem is Michael VIII's death, 11 December 1282; terminus ante quem Gregorios Kyprios's resignation from the patriarchate on 30 June 1289, see Kidonopoulos, *Bauten in Konstantinopel*, 9–10 (no. 1.1.3). The typikon does not survive. On the translation of Arsenios's relics see A.-M. Talbot, "The Relics of New Saints: Deposition, Translation, and Veneration in Middle and Late Byzantium," in *Saints and Sacred Matter: The Cult of Relics in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. C. Hahn and H. A. Klein (Washington, DC, 2015), 215–30.

6 *PLP* #21380 and A.-M. Talbot, "Empress Theodora Palaeologina, Wife of Michael VIII," *DOP* 46 (1992): 295–303.

7 Kidonopoulos, *Bauten in Konstantinopel*, 1–4 (no. 1.1.1: Anargyroi) and 86–87 (no. 1.1.38: Lips). For the Lips typikon see Delehaye, *Deux typica*, 106–36, trans. A.-M. Talbot, "*Lips: Typikon*," *BMFD* 3:1254–86.

8 *PLP* #21381. D. Kyritses, "The Byzantine Aristocracy in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1997), 226.

9 LCT 22.6–8 (§4), trans. *BMFD* 4:1524: τοῦτον οὖν τὸν ὄντως καλὸν καὶ σεμνὸν καὶ θεῖον ἔρωτά τε καὶ πόθον ἀμυδρῶς πῶς κἀγὼ ἐν γαστρὶ καρδίας καὶ συλλαβοῦσα καὶ ὠδινήσασα. . . .

10 I. Hutter, "Die Geschichte des Lincoln College Typikons," *JÖB* 45 (1995): 99–100 suggests that Ioannes Synadenos took an active part in the foundation of the convent. It seems equally possible that the enterprise began after his death, when the young family had lost its political protector. This fits well with Pachymeres informing us that Euphrosyne was considered as a bride for Bulgarian ruler Todor Svetoslav in 1295. A. Failler, ed., *Georges Pachymérès: Relations historiques* (Paris, 1984–2000), 3:295.4–9 (9.26)—at which time, as Hutter rightly remarks, she cannot yet have lived in the convent. The fact that Ioannes Synadenos is retrospectively styled as a founder on fols. 2r and 7r as well as LCT 81.12–13 (§116) and 98.12 (§149=c. 3), trans. *BMFD* 4:1556 and 1565, hardly necessitates his active involvement in the process.

11 Generally Kidonopoulos, *Bauten in Konstantinopel*, 69–74 (no. 1.1.34); Talbot, "Building Activity" (n. 3 above), 338–39; C. Striker and Y. D. Kuban, *Kalenderhane in Istanbul* (Mainz, 1997), 13–15; K. Smyrlis, *La fortune des grands monastères byzantins (fin du Xe–milieu du XIVe siècle)* (Paris, 2006), 37. A. Effenberger, "Die Klöster der beiden Kyrai Martha und die Kirche des Bebaia Elpis-Klosters in Konstantinopel," *Millennium* 3 (2006): 255–91 reexamined the *perihorismos* of the convent of the Theotokos of Certain Hope as given in the typikon (LCT 95.1–96.3 [§145], trans. *BMFD* 4:1563). He concludes that there is only *one* church of sufficient size and splendor to be found in the area thus emerging, the well-known Vefa Kilise Camii—alternatively identified as the *katholikon* of Nikephoros Choumnos's monastery of the Theotokos Gorgoepekoos, which is also mentioned in the *perihorismos*. Incidentally, the church was restored during the last decade of the thirteenth century, exactly when the convent of the Theotokos of Certain Hope was, in all likelihood, constructed; cf. C. Mango, "The Work of M. I. Nomidis in the Vefa Kilise Camii, Istanbul," *Μεσαιωνικὰ καὶ νέα ἑλληνικά* (Athens, 1990), 3:421–29 repr. in *Studies on Constantinople* (Aldershot, 1993), no. XXII. On the Vefa Kilise Camii see V. Marinis, *Architecture and Ritual in the Churches of Constantinople: Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 2014), 124–27 with further bibliography.

12 On possible competition, Hutter, "Geschichte," 112.

of the College, during his journey, together with Dr. Jacob Spon of Lyons, to Anatolia and Greece in 1675/76 and bequeathed to the College alongside another thirty-six Greek manuscripts upon his death in 1723.[13] It became known as the Lincoln College Typikon and has long been recognized as one of the most important documents surviving from the late Byzantine period.[14]

The Lincoln College Typikon is remarkable not only for its unique series of frontispieces. It is equally important as one of the very few Byzantine manuscripts copied, as I shall argue, by female scribes.[15] It is also a rare surviving example of an objectified text, that is, an intricate, in fact inseparable, symbiosis of text and object (codex) we see with the master copy of a typikon. No secondary copy of the typikon could have fulfilled this master function without undergoing rites of initiation, possibly the inclusion of donor portraits and other steps intrinsic to objectifying the text.[16] At the textual level, the typikon regulated life in the convent of the Theotokos of Sure Hope for over a century. Judging from several addenda that were appended to the typikon on the last folios (161r–163v), it did so at least into the early fifteenth century, down to the generation of Theodora Synadene's great-granddaughters. The last entries date to 1392—when the convent was restored by Theodora's granddaughter Anna Kantakouzene Philanthropene, who had taken the monastic name of Xene[17] and may have been its superior—1394, 1398, 1400, and 1402.[18] We can thus be certain that the surviving codex was the master copy, safeguarded and, on special occasions, used in the convent presumably next to other copies employed in everyday business.[19]

However, while one can be certain that the typikon nowadays in the possession of Lincoln College was the convent's long-lived master copy, the origins of this codex remain somewhat uncertain, especially as, according to Irmgard Hutter, the quality of the frontispieces and the remainder of the codex seem ill-matched.[20] It is with those origins, and their performative implications, that the present essay is concerned. It will first trace the processes in which a worldly foundress sought to obtain spiritual authority through the means of the typikon both as a text and as an object (codex). It then revisits the question of who copied the codex and for what purpose, and offers an excursus on the typikon of the convent of Lips and styles of handwriting in the imperial chancellery under Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (r. 1282–1328). The third, final section explores possible performances involving the codex within the convent's space.

13 Famously described in *A Journey into Greece, by George Wheler Esq., in Company of Dr. Spon of Lyons: In Six Books* (London, 1682). See V. H. H. Green, *The Commonwealth of Lincoln College, 1427–1977* (Oxford, 1979), 283–84 and n. 1; Hutter, *Corpus*, 57. Wheler's manuscripts are now Lincoln College, gr. 1–37, see H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum mss. qui in collegiis aulisque oxoniensibus hodie adservantur*, vol. 1.8, *Catalogus codicum mss. Collegii Lincolniensis* (Oxford, 1852), [iii].

14 Milestones are Hutter, *Corpus*, 56–62 (no. 24) with extensive bibliography; eadem, "Geschichte"; I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1976), 190–206 and figs. 143–54; A. Cutler and P. Magdalino, "Some Precisions on the Lincoln College Typikon," *CahArch* 27 (1978): 179–98. See also C. L. Connor, *Women of Byzantium* (New Haven, 2004), 268–308; M. Mullett, "Founders, Refounders, Second Founders, Patrons," in *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries*, ed. eadem (Belfast, 2007), 1–27, esp. 22–25; G. de Gregorio, "Epigrammi e documenti: Poesia come fonte per la storia di chiese e monasteri bizantini," in *Sylloge diplomatico-palaeographico*, vol. 1, *Studien zur byzantinischen Diplomatik und Paläographie*, ed. C. Gastgeber and O. Kresten (Vienna, 2010), 9–134, esp. 40–41. Further research on the LCT is referenced throughout this essay. On the issue of "document" vs. "literature" see M. Angold, "Were Byzantine Monastic *Typika* Literature?" in *The Making of Byzantine History: Studies Dedicated to Donald M. Nicol*, ed. R. Beaton and C. Roueché (Aldershot, 1993), 46–70 and G. Cavallo, "I *typika ktetorika* tra documento e libro: L'universo visibile e l'universo invisibile," in *Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Sofia, 22–27 August, 2011*, ed. I. G. Iliev (Sofia, 2011), 1:505–26, esp. 519–22.

15 This essay endorses Hutter's hypothesis ("Geschichte," 108) for reasons to be expounded below.

16 To a lesser degree such objectification was the case with many if not most liturgical books.

17 *BMFD* 4:1571n83. D. M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus), ca. 1100–1460* (Washington, DC, 1968), 150–51 (no. 40).

18 LCT 101.28–5.24 (§§155–59), trans. *BMFD* 4:1566–68. It is unknown when the convent ceased functioning; the terminus post quem is this last entry in the typikon. On these later, additional hands, E_{1-3}, and the fascinating insights they offer on the convent's relation with the patriarchal chancellery of the time, see now C. Gastgeber, "Das Typikon Lincoln College gr. 35 und das Patriarchat von Konstantinopel," *Scripta* 7 (2014): 95–110, which also illustrates the three hands in question. Gastgeber plausibly suggests—in intriguing contrast with the situation here described—that around the year 1400, no nun in the convent of Certain Hope was sufficiently literate to add these entries (110).

19 Hutter, "Geschichte," 107 and n. 128.

20 This discrepancy, which I see in the process of production rather than in the eye of the Byzantine beholder, is discussed below.

Strategies of Sacralization

As niece of an emperor, daughter of a *sebastokrator* and widow of a *megas stratopedarches*, the foundress Theodora Synadene must have commanded considerable wealth and worldly prestige but, presumably and at least initially, no spiritual authority to speak of.[21] In Margaret Mullett's apposite words, "This kind of founder gets the commemoration [s]he pays for rather than the commemoration [s]he deserves."[22] Both the text of the typikon and the tangible codex which carried it were intended to compensate for this shortcoming and to assist in progressively transforming the foundress's aristocratic voice into a spiritual one.[23] They did so through a manifold strategy of sacralization.

The foundress's transformation from aristocrat to humble nun, from Theodora to Theodoule, was both visualized and inscribed in the typikon. It became visible as the reader turned over the page in the portrait series, from fol. 2r, with its label "Theodora Komnene Palaiologina," to fol. 3r (now fol. 7r—see below, fig. 2, for the original and current order of portraits), where she was simply labeled, "Theodoule nun, foundress," and subsequently on to fol. 11r (fig. 1, below).[24] It became also evident from the hortatory addresses and epilogues to both future superiors and to the present and future nuns, admonitions that interspersed and concluded Theodora Synadene's typikon and were certainly meant to reflect on her own authority as well.[25] The "hortatory epilogue to all the nuns and the superior, to abide by the typikon and not to transgress [it] in any way,"[26] in particular leaves little doubt that "precise observance" of the rules—in deed, not only by memorizing them[27]—just as following the model of saints,[28] would result in virtue, fame, and ultimately sainthood:

> Now on account of the great virtue which you will attain without question through the precise observance of this typikon (ἀκριβῶς τὸν τύπον τοῦτον φυλάττουσα), you will be celebrated and well known to everyone, and almost all men who see and hear your actions will sing you countless eulogies, and devise lengthy praises for you, and frequently bless you.[29]

Emanating from the superior's example the typikon's objective was to produce "holy brides" (νύμφας ἁγνάς τε καὶ ἱεράς) and "virgins" (παρθένους) for the kingdom

21 Hutter, "Geschichte," 82. Interestingly, in the portrait miniature on fol. 2r, she is styled as Komnene Palaiologina without any mention of the name Synadene—see Hutter, *Corpus*, 59 and color fig. 7. This lack of spiritual authority holds true, her and her husband's decision to found the convent of the Theotokos of Certain Hope notwithstanding.

22 Mullett, "Founders, Refounders" (n. 14 above), 7.

23 By spiritual authority I denote the kind of authority which saintly (female) founders of earlier, by the early fourteenth century rather "legendary" times, would have wielded through their ascetic, model lives: see S. Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances: Reading the Body in Byzantine Passions and Lives of Holy Women* (Uppsala, 2005), 127–44 on "the exemplary body of the abbess," achieved through ascetic exercises. This is precisely the body that Theodora/Theodoule Synadene could not offer; see eadem, "Male Constructions of Female Identities: Authority and Power in the Byzantine Greek Lives of Monastic Foundresses," in Theis et al., *Female Founders* (n. 4 above), 43–62, esp. 57–61. The LCT consciously evokes the study of such hagiographical models twice, see nn. 28, 33 below. However, this transformation was never meant to be complete, indicated by the continuing focus on family names in the memorial chapters and the inclusion of family portraits to the codex. On "aristocratic *typika*" see C. Galatariotou, "Byzantine *Ktetorika Typika*: A Comparative Study," *REB* 45 (1987): 77–138, esp. 89–107.

24 Hutter, *Corpus*, 59, 61 and color figs. 7, 8, 16. Her portrait on fol. 11r is usually described as "hollow": Hutter, "Geschichte" (n. 10 above), 111; Connor, *Women of Byzantium* (n. 14 above), 283 ("hollow cheeks").

25 The "admonitory and advisory discourse to the superior" (§§27–36) and a "hortatory address to all the nuns, inspiring them to obedience" (§§37–47), respectively, are followed by the epilogue addressing both groups (of which §§129–33 are addressed to the superior, §§125–28 to the nuns). Again, this can be linked to hagiographical practices: Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances*, 144–50. Roughly one third of the surviving *typika* feature such hortatory addresses: M. Mullett, "*Typika* and Other Texts," in eadem, *Founders and Refounders* (n. 14 above), 182–209 at 190. These addresses, which repeatedly reiterate the importance of the typikon, seem to betray some rhetorical training on the part of Theodora Synadene (or possibly her ghostwriter; see n. 93).

26 LCT 86.2–6 (chap. XXIV = title), trans. *BMFD* 4:1558.

27 LCT 86.7–87.5 (§125), trans. *BMFD* 4:1558.

28 The LCT emphasizes this twice: 90.1–9 (§132), trans. *BMFD* 4:1560 and below, n. 33.

29 LCT 90.10–14 (§133), trans. *BMFD* 4:1560: διὰ τὴν σὴν πολλὴν ἀρετήν . . . πάντες σχεδὸν ἄνθρωποι, οἵ γε τὰ σὰ καὶ θεάσονται καὶ ἀκούσονται, ᾄσουσι σοι πλεῖστα ἐγκώμια καὶ μακροὺς ἐπαίνους σοι πλέξουσι καὶ πολλάκις μακαριοῦσί σε. This is directed to succeeding superiors, hence the singular.

of Heaven;[30] obeisance to Theodora Synadene's words would lead both future superiors as well as nuns

> into the pure and celebrated bridal chambers to rule together and be glorified together with your greatly beloved Bridegroom. You [i.e., the superior] will stand on his right and hear his desirable and blessed voice. You will stand and listen together with these your spiritual daughters [i.e., the nuns], and then you will say with great confidence (καὶ ἐρεῖς καὶ αὐτὴ μετὰ παρρησίας τότε πολλῆς) to your Lord and Savior, "O Lord, see the daughters whom you gave me.[31]

For such guidance, in addition to the Scripture the members of the convent were expected to draw inspiration from the large library which Theodora's deceased husband, the *megas stratopedarches* Ioannes Synadenos, had bequeathed to the convent. It seems to have stocked religious books almost exclusively.[32] The superior in particular was expected, "like a skillful and master artist" (καθάπερ γραφεὺς εὐφυής τις καὶ ἄριστος), to

> look often at the lives of those our most blessed and holy mothers [i.e., female saints of earlier generations], as if they were living images and efficacious and inspiring figures (εἰκόνας ἐμψύχους καὶ ἀγάλματα ἔμπρακτα), and examine them very clearly; thus you will make your own life an accurate model of them, and will adorn it with all the imperishable flowers and colors of the virtues (πᾶσι τοῖς ἀμαραντίνοις ἄνθεσί τε καὶ χρώμασι), and thus you will make their goodness and fair beauty your own through exact imitation.[33]

A related aspect of this sacralization process is the superior's "transcendence of femininity," serving the aim of investing her with ever greater spiritual authority. The phrase we already encountered, "you will say with great confidence" toward the end of Theodora's typikon bears repercussions of an earlier passage and reminds us that the typikon was a highly gendered text:

> "Awake, awake, put on the strength of thine arm" (Is. 51:9). Forgetting our feminine weakness for the most part (καὶ τῆς τοῦ θήλεος ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἡμετέρας ἀσθενείας ἐπιλαθομένη τῷ πλείονι μέρει), "gird thy loins," if not "like a man" (Job 38:3), at least in a manly fashion (εἰ καὶ μὴ ὡς ἀνὴρ ἀλλ' ἀνδρείως). Assume a manly and masculine temperament, brace up yourself as best as you can (καὶ ἀρρενωπὸν ἀναλαβοῦσα φρόνημα καὶ ἀνδρεῖον, τόνωσον ὁπόσον ἄρα καὶ δύνῃ σαυτήν).[34]

In this first paragraph of Theodora's discourse to future superiors one sees the text performing a rhetorical, metaphorical masculinization in ways comparable to how female saints and holy abbesses of earlier periods had striven to overcome their "weakness" through asceticism and, literally as well as metaphorically, cross-dressing.[35] Absorbing the considerable spiritual authority an ascetic foundress of old would have possessed through her conduct, the typikon offered a well-calculated economy of

30 LCT 34.19–20 (§27), trans. *BMFD* 4:1531; 90.16 (§133), trans. *BMFD* 4:1560.

31 LCT 90.14–22 (§133), trans. *BMFD* 4:1560.

32 Ioannes Synadenos took pride in the size of his library; see N. Wilson, "Books and Readers in Byzantium," in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Washington, DC, 1975), 8; he furnished volumes with colophons executed in thirty twelve-syllable verses, which emphasized size and religious content: see R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani graeci: Codices 330–603* (Vatican, 1937), 218, vv. 8–15: κτᾶται δὲ ταύτην ἐν διαπύρῳ πόθῳ / ὁ Συναδηνὸς Κομνηνὸς Ἰωάννης / ἀνακτόγαμβρος, στρατοπεδάρχης μέγας. / οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἄλλος τῶν βροτῶν τῶν ἐν βίῳ / στρατηγικαῖς χάρισιν ἠγλαϊσμένος / καὶ βασιλικαῖς ἀξίαις ἐστεμμένος / τοσαύτας αὐχεῖ θείας ἱερὰς βίβλους / ὡς οὗτος ἀνὴρ παγκλεής τε καὶ μέγας. Four manuscripts of this once seemingly impressive library have been identified. Three are indeed of religious content: Vat. gr. 456 (Gregory Nazianzen, whence the verses above), Paris. Coisl. gr. 89, and Paris. Suppl. gr. 1262. The possible fourth, Vat. gr. 139 (Plutarch's *Moralia*), suggests that the *megas stratopedarches*' taste extended beyond the religious. See F. Vendruscolo, "Protostoria dei Plutarchi di Planude," *Studi Classici e Orientali* 43 (1993): 73–82, esp. 75–76 with I. Pérez Martín, "Nuevos códices planudeos de Plutarco," in *Plutarco y la historia. Actas del V Simposio Español sobre Plutarco (Zaragoza, 20–22 junio de 1996)*, ed. C. Schrader, V. Ramón, and J. Vela (Zaragoza, 1997), 385–403, esp. 386–87; French trans., "Nouveaux manuscrits planudéens de Plutarque," in *Moschovia: Problemy vizantijskoj i novogrečeskoj filologii* (Moscow, 2001), 355–63, esp. 356.

33 LCT 35.29–36.5 (§30), trans. *BMFD* 4:1531 (modified). See also above, n. 28.

34 LCT 34.21–26 (§27), trans. *BMFD* 4:1531 (modified).

35 Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances* (n. 23 above), 90–106; E. Castelli, "'I Will Make Mary Male': Pieties of the Body and Gender Transformation of Christian Women in Late Antiquity," in *Body Guards: The Cultural Politics of Gender Ambiguity*, ed. J. Epstein and K. Straub (New York and London, 1991), 29–49.

sainthood by frequently referencing the Gospels, the Old Testament, and, notably, saints' lives.

As if to suggest that these various transformations—the production of holy brides, the transcendence of femininity—were ultimately achieved, in Theodora's epilogue the superior was likened to Christ himself:

> You will demonstrate clearly that you are obeying the rules steadfastly, if you display the same attitude toward your teacher and spiritual mother as toward Christ himself, the God of all (σαφῶς δὲ δείξετε ἀμετακίνητα τὰ τετυπωμένα φυλάττουσαι, ἐὰν πρὸς μὲν τὴν διδάσκαλον καὶ κατὰ πνεῦμα μητέρα ὑμῶν οὕτως εἴητε διακείμεναι ὥσπερ ἂν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ Θεὸν τοῦ παντός), to sum up my instructions briefly, and if you obey her as if again the Savior and Lord of all should command you (καὶ ἐὰν οὕτως αὐτῇ ὑπακούοιτε ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐκεῖνος πάλιν ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ δεσπότης τῶν ὅλων προστάττων ὑμῖν φαίνοιτο).[36]

Additionally, the typikon performatively reenacted—in image and word—the dedication, "with joyful and leaping soul" (χαιρούσῃ καὶ σκιρτώσῃ ψυχῇ),[37] of Theodora's first-born child, her young daughter Euphrosyne, to the convent:[38] "whom I consecrated not only from infancy, but almost from the moment of her birth to the all-holy Virgin and Mother of God, and through her to the God of all, just as Anna of old [dedicated] Samuel before his birth." Theodora hastened to emphasize the unique position Euphrosyne—whose lay name is not known if she ever received one—occupied with her and the convent: "who is exceptionally dear to me above all others . . . the pleasant and charming light of my eyes, my sweetest love, the flame of my heart, my breath and life, the hope of my old age, my refreshment, my comfort my consolation."[39] Unlike her mother, the daughter and cofoundress gained spiritual authority *ab initio*. This dedication was detailed with equal care in the arrangement of the frontispiece series: whoever had the chance of browsing the portraits prefacing the Lincoln College Typikon first met Euphrosyne as a child and novice standing between her parents on fol. 3r (currently, 7r)[40] and subsequently, now an adolescent or adult,[41] next to her mother, the former presenting the typikon and the latter the convent to the Theotokos of Certain Hope (fol. 11r = fig. 1, right). In both images, Theodora leads her daughter toward the Theotokos, thus emphasizing that Euphrosyne is her most valuable gift.

Finally, these strategies of sacralization involved the material object, i.e., the codex itself. While the Lincoln College Typikon remains silent about the rites through which sacrality was achieved, the contemporary typikon of dowager empress Theodora Palaiologina's convent of Lips describes aspects of this process in some detail. The section "concerning the election and installation of the superior" stipulates that the new superior, once she has received a staff (βακτηρίαν) as sign of her (worldly) authority over the convent from the lay *ephoros*—in the case of Lips, the emperor—

> should return immediately to the convent. After blessing the church, the priest should make the customary prayers on behalf of the emperors, and should also pray on behalf of the new superior. Then he should take the box containing this typikon, which has been placed before the icon of our Mistress and Protectress, the Mother of God, and should entrust it to [the superior] after she has knelt three times; and after making the sign of the venerable cross, he should pray for God's assistance to protect

36 LCT 86.22–25 (§125), trans. *BMFD* 4:1558.

37 LCT 25.6 (§9), trans. *BMFD* 4:1526.

38 LCT 22.12–17, 24.30–26.2, 81.28–82.11 (§§4, 9–10, 118), trans. *BMFD* 4:1524, 1526, 1556; the following quote is LCT 22.12–17, with reference to 1 Kings 1:10–28.

39 LCT 25.2–5 (§9), trans. *BMFD* 4:1526.

40 Hutter, *Corpus* (n. 2 above), 59—"als einzige Figur ist das Kind auf den Goldgrund gemalt, nicht in diesen eingebettet wie die übrigen Gestalten"—and Connor, *Women of Byzantium* (n. 14 above), 281 claim that, in this miniature, Euphrosyne was the only figure painted on the gold background. If this were the case it might carry some significance; however, my autopsy of the portrait series suggests it to be far more likely that the color from the figures of Theodoule Synadene and Ioakeim Synadenos flaked together with the gold background, giving a mistaken impression. It is clear that their faces were painted on the gold as were the "hems" of their garments. I am grateful to Dr. Georgi Parpulov for discussing this issue with me.

41 The age at which Euphrosyne is depicted on fol. 11r is debated: Hutter, "Geschichte," 111 thought the artist meant to compliment the, in ca. 1330, about forty-five year old Euphrosyne by painting her "rosy cheeks"; C. Hennessy, *Images of Children in Byzantium* (Farnham, 2008), 107 thinks this unlikely and argues that the image, or rather its model, originates from a time when Euphrosyne was a teenager.

FIG. 1 Oxford, Lincoln College, gr. 35 (Lincoln College Typikon), fols. 10v–11r (© Lincoln College, Oxford)

> her (λαβὼν . . . τὴν τοῦ παρόντος τυπικοῦ πυξίδα πρὸ τῆς εἰκόνος τεθεῖσαν τῆς δεσποίνης καὶ προστάτιδος Θεοτόκου γονυκλιτησάσῃ τρὶς ἐγχειρίσει καὶ τῷ τοῦ τιμίου ἐπισφραγίσας τύπῳ σταυροῦ τὴν πρὸς Θεοῦ ἀντίληψιν ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ ταύτης ἐπεύξεται).[42]

It seems very likely that similar rites were performed with the Lincoln College Typikon even if not specified in the text itself. Theodora Synadene prescribed that officers about to be appointed should perform *proskynesis* thrice before the icon of the Theotokos of Certain Hope; the Lincoln College Typikon is thus not unlikely to have participated in the rites surrounding the superior's appointment as well.[43] Further indirect evidence can be adduced from the twelfth-century typikon of the Komnenian convent of the Theotokos Kecharitomene; there, the typikon plus the convent's inventory were to be kept in the sacristy (*skeuophylakion*),[44] a space close to the holy core of the foundation, i.e., amid the monastery's liturgical treasures, with one additional copy of this set of texts to be kept in the sacristy of the Great Church of Hagia Sophia and another with the nunnery's lay protectress (ταῖς κατὰ καιροὺς τῆς μονῆς ἀντιλαμβανομέναις).[45]

42 Delehaye, *Deux typica* (n. 1 above), 110.16–25 (§7), trans. *BMFD* 3:1267.

43 LCT 61.8–14 [§74], trans. *BMFD* 4:1545.

44 On the location of the *skeuophylakion* in later Byzantine/Constantinopolitan monasteries see Marinis, *Architecture and Ritual* (n. 11 above), 30–41.

45 P. Gautier, "Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitôménè," *REB* 43 (1985): 5–165 at 133.2009–20 (§77), trans. *BMFD* 2:705. These

While details such as this remain hypothetical in the case of the Theotokos of Certain Hope, the example of Lips as well as the close connection of superior and typikon advocated by the Lincoln College Typikon seem to suggest that the sacralized codex served to invest the superior, who enjoyed privileged access to it (and the text inscribed therein), with spiritual authority in turn: she was partaking in the typikon's sanctity, as it were.

Theodora Synadene did not leave it to chance that her typikon would achieve its full impact, with the strategies she had embedded therein. It was supposed to resound in the nuns' ears—on the nuns' minds—at all times. To achieve this end, she ordered that it be read aloud over supper at the beginning of each month (καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην νουμηνίαν ἀναγινώσκειν), more often than any other text.[46] Presumably, a less richly decorated copy than the one surviving, written on paper rather than parchment, was kept for this and similar purposes.[47] Similarly, at the convent of Lips, the typikon was to be read aloud thrice a year, each time commencing on a feast day.[48]

As an objectified text, i.e., drawing on its specific generic and material combination of typikon as text and typikon as codex, and speaking "in the voice" (ἐκ φωνῆς) of the foundress, as it were, the Lincoln College Typikon sought to bestow a spiritual authority on Theodora Synadene, and future superiors, which her own *bios* and *politeia* did not yield.

Scribal Hands

With this dual, even triple role in mind—the interdependent sacrality of object, text, and the superior as the text's privileged caretaker—this essay turns to the Lincoln College Typikon as an example of female monastic handwriting.[49] If, as we have just seen, the foundress's typikon was imbued with sacralizing strategies, what conclusions can be drawn regarding the process of composing or copying such a text?

At this point, it is necessary to recapitulate Hutter's reconstruction of the manuscript's history in some detail; it runs as follows.[50] As a result of the birth of young Euphrosyne, Ioannes Synadenos and his wife Theodora decided to found the convent of the Theotokos of Certain Hope around 1285/86. The building complex was finished over the next decade or so; the first version of the typikon was written around 1300 and furnished with a single miniature.[51] (This codex is here called the "exemplar" and the text it contained, Theodora's or the "foundress's typikon.") One rather cheap, stray copy of this exemplar, produced sometime shortly after 1300—the codex that eventually became what we now call the Lincoln College Typikon—was left unfinished in various respects, certainly without a miniature, and fell into all but oblivion for some thirty years (here called the "original Lincoln College Typikon"). Around that time, between ca. 1328 and 1331, Theodora rewrote certain passages of her typikon, especially those paragraphs that dealt with the memorial rites for family members.[52]

three sets were written on parchment (σωματῷα) but see also n. 47. Hutter, "Geschichte," 107 convincingly concludes that the convent of Certain Hope would have maintained several copies as well.

46 LCT 83.4–7 (§120), trans. *BMFD* 1557. On reading practices in the convent of the Theotokos of Certain Hope see A.-M. Talbot, "Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium," in *Okeanos: Essays Presented to Ihor Ševčenko*, ed. C. Mango and O. Pritsak (= *HUkSt* 7 [1983]), 604–18 at 608.

47 Hutter, "Geschichte," 107n128 refers to the example of Kecharitomene; the convent's everyday copy was executed on bombycine paper (βαμβύκινα): Gautier, "Typikon," 133.2021–22 (§77), trans. *BMFD* 3:705.

48 Delehaye, *Deux typica*, 111.1–12 (§8), trans. *BMFD* 3:1268: "Then the reading of this testament of mine should be instituted: on the first day it should be read for the length of the dinner hour, and on subsequent days be read through to the end" (τότε δὴ καὶ ἡ τῆς ἡμετέρας ταύτης διατύπωσεως ἀνάγνωσις προτεθήσεται καὶ τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἀναγνωσθήσεται, ὅσονπερ ἂν ἡ τῆς ἑστιάσεως ὥρα παραμετρήσειε ταῖς δὲ καθεξῆς διὰ τέλους ἀνελιχθήσεται). The feast days were those of St. John the Baptist (24 June), the birthday of the Theotokos (8 September), and the feast of the resurrection of Christ and closure of the feast of the *enkainia* (the Sunday after Easter).

49 Hutter, "Geschichte," 108.

50 Hutter, "Geschichte." For a summary of Hutter's arguments more detailed than the one presented here see C. Hennessy, "The Lincoln College Typikon: Influences of Church and Family in an Illuminated Foundation Document for a Palaiologan Convent in Constantinople," in *Under the Influence: The Concept of Influence and the Study of Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. A. Bovey and J. Lowden (Turnhout, 2008), 97–109, esp. 101–6.

51 On the chronology see n. 10 above.

52 Hutter, "Geschichte," 103–5 postulates that the foundress's typikon was revised while Theodora's son Theodoros, the convent's powerful *ephoros*, was *eparchos* of Constantinople, i.e., between 1328 and 1331. Yet Kyritses, "Byzantine Aristocracy," 339 and 397 convincingly dates Theodoros's promotion to the events of 1321/22. The terminus post quem of the revision of the founder's *typikon* can thus be moved earlier in time by several years. Termini post quos are the deaths of Ioannes Synadenos's first wife, Thomaïs, and her nephew Andronikos Palaiologos the *protobestiarios*: whichever occurred first. The *protobestiarios* Andronikos Palaiologos is last mentioned

These revisions may have been prompted by her desire to produce a deluxe version of the typikon—which carried this latest, revised version of the text and expanded upon the single original miniature to create the full series of family portraits that we also find in the Lincoln College Typikon—for the convent's lay *ephoros* Theodoros, her elder son and the younger brother of Euphrosyne who then held the prestigious office of *eparchos* of Constantinople.[53] This (hypothetical) deluxe manuscript did not stand the test of time; yet according to Hutter a copy of the splendid set of miniatures was made around the same time or soon afterward and affixed to the present-day Lincoln College Typikon. Presumably at the same time the Lincoln College Typikon's text was updated to incorporate both Theodora's revisions as well as a so-called "second typikon," which Euphrosyne added to her mother's typikon (here called the "revised Lincoln College Typikon"). This is thus likely to have happened under Euphrosyne's stewardship (with a terminus ante quem of 1335); at this point the Lincoln College manuscript became the convent's main typikon ("Archivexemplar").[54]

Much of Hutter's argument for this history of the Lincoln College Typikon depends not simply on her careful and certainly correct analysis of the textual revisions of the typikon but upon the one exemplar miniature that she postulates was later copied and integrated into the deluxe manuscript portrait series.[55] She points to a plausible precedent, that of the now-perished chartulary of the Thessalian monasteries of Makrinitissa and Nea Petra—the lost Taurin. gr. 237—which showed Theodora Synadene's cousin, Anna/Anthousa Maliasene, and her husband, Nikolaos/Ioasaph Maliasenos with a model of their foundation, receiving John the Baptist's blessing. Hutter suggests that in the exemplar, the single miniature depicted the founding couple in monastic garments presenting infant Euphrosyne to the convent. This miniature became the model of the image currently misbound to fol. 7r in the Lincoln College Typikon (fig. 2).[56] Hutter inferred this from the fact that the first folio of the original part of the Lincoln College Typikon, currently fol. 13r, was left blank. It was not filled until much later, when the present ornamental frame was added.[57]

One point of Hutter's admirable reconstruction which might merit rethinking, now that the sacral value the typikon carried as both a text and a material object has been appreciated, is whether a fairly clumsily produced and temporarily forgotten spare copy would have been invested with the amount of spiritual

in 1324 and, presumably, 1327 (on the latter occasion without title, so identification seems somewhat uncertain): see *PLP* #29122. Similarly, Hutter's terminus ante quem is based on Manuel Asanes' disgrace ("Geschichte," 105), but it remains unclear why, in the context of family foundation and commemoration, it would have been impossible to depict a disgraced courtier in court dress.

53 On the office of *eparchos* see K.-P. Matschke, *Das spätbyzantinische Konstantinopel. Alte und neue Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte zwischen 1261 und 1453* (Hamburg, 2008), 115–51, esp. 119, 147–48 ("Rolle und Aufgaben des Gouverneurs von Konstantinopel").

54 Hand *B* replaced foll. 123–25, corresponding to LCT 81.6–82.26 (§§115–20), trans. *BMFD* 4:1555–56, of Theodora's original typikon and added commemoration rules for extended members of the family (LCT 91.1–94.28 [§§134–44], trans. *BMFD* 4:1561–63), the *perihorismos* (LCT 95.1–96.3 [§145], trans. *BMFD* 4:1563), as well as Euphrosyne's *hypotyposis* (LCT §§146–54, trans. *BMFD* 4:1564–66) on foll. 142–58. It is usually assumed that changes to §§115–19, as well as §§134–45 in their entirety, were composed by Theodora but introduced to the typikon only after her death, alongside Euphrosyne's *hypotyposis*, and this is certainly the most straightforward explanation. Theoretically the revisions and additions to Theodora's family commemorations could have been written by Euphrosyne in her mother's name, in order to avoid larger revisions. The order of folia in this part of the Lincoln College ms is heavily muddled, with loss of text of what is now fol. 159v.

55 Hutter, *Corpus*, color fig. 8/fig. 211 and "Geschichte," fig. 3. Hennessy, "Lincoln College Typikon," 106–7; eadem, *Images of Children*, 107–8, expanding on Hutter's arguments, opts for the inclusion of four images into the ca. 1300 version: the current fols. 7r, 10v, 11r, and 12r—see also below, nn. 130 and 131. On the Makrinitissa chartulary see De Gregorio, "Epigrammi e documenti," 58–96 and esp. fig. 2, with further bibliography.

56 Hutter, "Geschichte," 106–7 convincingly assigns this miniature—although framed by a double red line, rather than a single broad one—to the same workshop as the family portraits and takes it as definite proof that the whole portrait series was copied (ibid., 106): "Denn dieses funktionslose Ornamentfeld auf leerem Blatt, ohne nachfolgenden Text, ist der absolut sichere Beweis, daß es eine Kopie ist. Und da alle dreizehn Miniaturen mit den gleichen Farben gemalt wurden und die gleichen roten Saumlinien haben, sind auch die zwölf Porträtminiaturen mit an Sicherheit grenzender Wahrscheinlichkeit Kopien." But strictly speaking, all that fol. 13r seems to prove is that the exemplar of the present-day LCT *either* carried a miniature, as Hutter suggests—"Geschichte," 108: "Für diese Anomalie gibt es nur eine Erklärung: In der Vorlage stand auf diesem ersten Blatt eine Miniatur"—*or*, indeed, was meant to carry a miniature that remained unexecuted in the exemplar as well. Surely it remains a valid option that in order to fill this prominent space once the concept had been expanded and the frontispieces been added, the ornament was copied from the exemplar or another manuscript.

57 Hutter, *Corpus*, color fig. 18/fig. 221 and "Geschichte," fig. 15.

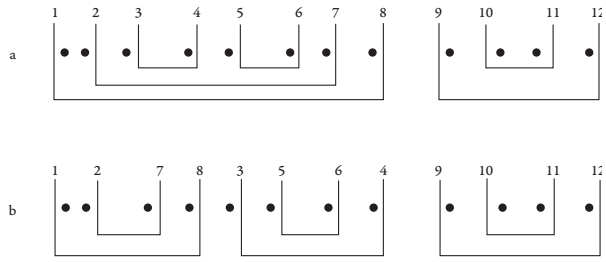

FIG. 2 Original (a) and current (b) arrangement of family portraits in the frontispiece section of the Lincoln College Typikon (• = hair side; after Spatharakis, *Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, 191)

authority we saw at play in the previous section. It has already been noted that Komnenian and Palaiologan aristocratic monasteries kept several copies of their typika for carefully differentiated purposes. As the Lincoln College Typikon, in spite of its lack of sophistication, arguably was or became the convent's master copy, surely it would not have been impossible to produce yet another deluxe version of the typikon's text to go with the splendid frontispieces if the aging Theodora or Euphrosyne had desired to do so. Whoever had the means of commissioning the miniatures prefacing the text, especially when executed not only once, but (at least) twice,[58] would also have had the means of producing a new copy of the typikon, written in one consistent hand and with some calligraphic aspiration.[59] The extant copy of the Lips typikon (on which see below) proves that other convents, of similar standing and social connections, featured such deluxe copies.

Of course one may wonder whether these assumptions, that the master copy of an "aristocratic" typikon ought to be a deluxe manuscript and that miniatures and text should "match" in quality, are anachronistic.[60] Yet the issue is not so much whether the nuns of the convent of the Theotokos of Certain Hope perceived any mismatch between frontispieces and the quality of handwriting and parchment (possibly they did not; and if they did presumably it did not worry them); it is rather that, compared against the—fairly small—sample of illuminated deluxe manuscripts produced in fourteenth-century Constantinople, the Lincoln College Typikon seems unusual. Manuscripts associated with the so-called "atelier of the Palaiologina" or the scriptorium at the monastery *ton Hodegon* come with certain standards of calligraphy and illumination;[61] so does, as a case apart, the Lips typikon. This typikon will be introduced and explored later, but it and the Lincoln College Typikon are the only surviving objectified typika produced for and used in early Palaiologan aristocratic monastic foundations in Constantinople. As fragile a base for comparison as this may be, it becomes especially clear that the discrepancy pertains to the quality of not only the handwriting but also the material support, the parchment, which is inferior in the Lincoln College Typikon. It is against this contemporary, Constantinopolitan "horizon of expectations" with regard to illuminated, calligraphically executed manuscripts, that the Lincoln College Typikon deserves to be examined: at the very least, its current structure seems to suggest that its production did not follow standard patterns.

58 According to Hutter, "Geschichte," 106. See below p. 263 and n. 130; like Hennessy, I remain unpersuaded that the present LCT frontispiece series is a copy from a deluxe version of the typikon.

59 Of course, in support of Hutter's theory, one cannot exclude that for reasons of convenience, pressure of time, or similar, Euphrosyne or whoever was in charge of the decision at the time, may have decided against commissioning a deluxe copy, and rather chose this at first glance "second-rate" copy.

60 I am grateful to one of the anonymous readers for *DOP* for raising this issue. Insofar as this is relevant, it is well known that the Byzantines, certainly in the middle period, did not apply rigorous orthographical standards to artifacts or even texts compiled at the imperial court; see M. Panayotidi, "Le peintre en tant que *scribe* des inscriptions d'un monument et la question du niveau de sa connaissanace grammaticale et ortographique," in *L'artista a Bisanzio e nel mondo cristiano-orientale*, ed. M. Bacci (Pisa, 2007), 71–116, or M. Featherstone, "Court Orthography: Spelling in the Leipzig Manuscript of the *De Cerimoniis*," in *Philomathestatos: Studies in Greek and Byzantine Texts Presented to Jacques Noret for his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. B. Janssens, B. Roosen, and P. van Deun (Leuven, 2004), 239–47. Similar studies for the late period seem to be a *desideratum*. For interesting statistical observations on the matches and mismatches between the quality of text and illustration see K. Maxwell, "The Textual Affiliation of Deluxe Byzantine Gospel Books," in *The New Testament in Byzantium*, ed. R. S. Nelson and D. Krueger (Washington, DC, forthcoming).

61 E.g., H. Buchthal and H. Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople: An Atelier of Late Byzantine Book Illumination and Calligraphy* (Washington, DC, 1978); R. Nelson and J. Lowden, "The Palaeologina Group: Additional Manuscripts and New Questions," *DOP* 45 (1991): 59–68; I. Pérez Martín, "El 'estilo Hodegos' y su proyección en las escrituras constantinopolitanas," *Segno & Testo* 6 (2008): 389–458. See also the excursus below.

In search of such an alternative genesis of the Lincoln College Typikon, it is the hand of the main scribe, commonly dubbed *A*, that merits reconsideration. While the script does indeed look unruly, the manuscript was nevertheless executed with considerable care as, e.g., the regular change of inks in the index on fols. 14r–15v shows, alternating between light blue, brown, and vermilion red (fig. 3). At this point, a look at the division of hands in the codex is warranted.[62] One encounters two main and two auxiliary scribes. *A* is the main scribe of the text that corresponds to Theodora's original typikon (figs. 3–6).[63] *B* is the main scribe of the interpolations inserted to make the revised typikon.[64] Both hands *A* and *B* employ fairly regular yet inconsistent hyphenation.[65] *C* is an assistant of *B*.[66] Finally, *D* is the scribe adding, in red ink, chapter titles and initials to *A*'s original version; occasionally, this ink caused considerable offsets on the facing pages (e.g., fols. 45r and 77r) which has given rise to the hypothesis the codex may already have been bound by the time *D* operated; yet it seems more likely that the ink bled over the centuries (fig. 4).[67] Hutter implies that *D* operated at the latest date: however, this hand must have preceded hand *B* as becomes obvious on fol. 121r, where *B* adds καὶ τῶν διαδόχων αὐτῆς καὶ παίδων to a chapter title, about the commemoration of the foundress's parents and husband, previously handwritten by *D*.[68] Hutter rightly calls *A* a somewhat unrefined hand;[69] indeed in terms of style it does not seem

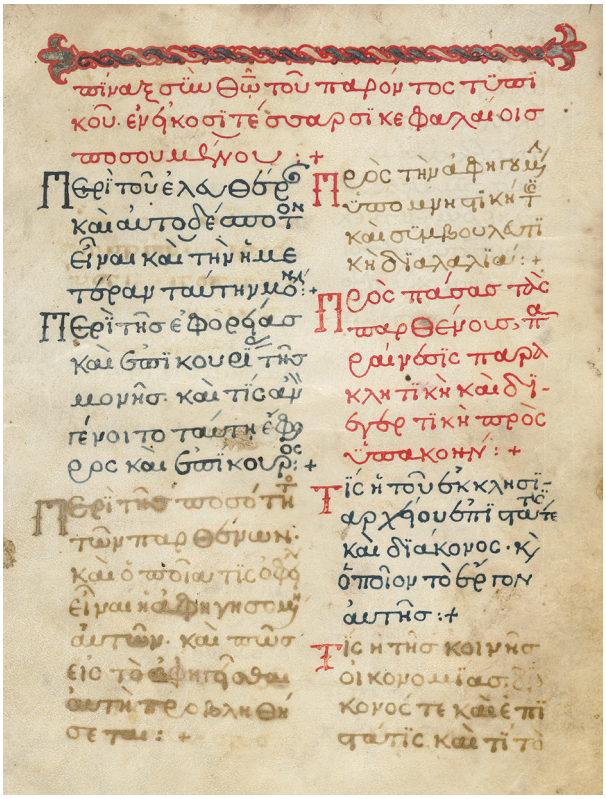

FIG. 3 Oxford, Lincoln College, gr. 35 (Lincoln College Typikon), fol. 14r (© Lincoln College, Oxford)

to link itself to any of the fashionable currents in early fourteenth-century Constantinople.

I am inclined to take this last observation as the decisive argument in favor of Hutter's hypothesis that the original part of the Lincoln College Typikon was copied by a nun in the monastery of the Theotokos of Certain Hope. Hutter has convincingly argued that the manuscript was kept in the convent of the Theotokos of Certain Hope throughout;[70] clearest proof of female scribal activity is an evocation in the feminine grammatical gender on fol. 132r: κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει ταῖς σαῖς δουλαῖς εἰς ἐκπλήρωσιν τῶν γεγραμμένων.[71] However, this pertains

62 According to Hutter, *Corpus* (n. 2 above), 56–57.

63 Responsible for fols. 14r–122v, 126r–27v, 133r–34v, 136r–41v. For further samples of this hand see Hutter, "Geschichte," figs. 11 (fol. 127v) and 13–14.

64 Responsible for fols. 123r–25v, 128r–32v, 135r–v, 142r–56v, 158r–59v. For samples of this hand see Hutter, "Geschichte," figs. 11 (fol. 128r) and 12.

65 E.g., fig. 5, line 6; Hutter, "Geschichte," figs. 11 and 13. On hyphenation in general see D. Murphy, "Hyphens in Greek Manuscripts," *GRBS* 36 (1995): 293–314.

66 Responsible for fols. 157r–v, 160r–61r, line 1. No sample provided; this hand does not matter for my argument.

67 Connor, *Women of Byzantium* (n. 14 above), 303.

68 Hutter, "Geschichte" (n. 10 above), fig. 13 (the title in the middle of the folio, with *B*'s addition in the margin); Hutter (ibid., 90–91) herself says as much but seems to ascribe the title to *A*: see also n. 77 below.

69 Hutter, "Geschichte," 90—"die leicht archaisierende, rundliche Hand A mit ihren verkümmerten Ober- und Unterlängen . . . "—and 105–6—" . . . ein recht mittelmäßiger Codex. Das Pergament ist grauweiß, häufig porig und nachlässig gekreidet, die Tinte teilweise fleckig und verlaufen; die Schrift hat keineswegs kalligraphische Qualität. . . . Der Oxforder Codex ist also alles andere als eine Luxushandschrift." Eadem, *Corpus*, 56–57 characterizes all hands as "trotz aller Bemühung nur mäßig kalligraphisch und uneinheitlich im Layout" and attests *A* in particular "Richtungs- und Duktusschwankungen."

70 Ibid., 108.

71 Ibid., fig. 12.

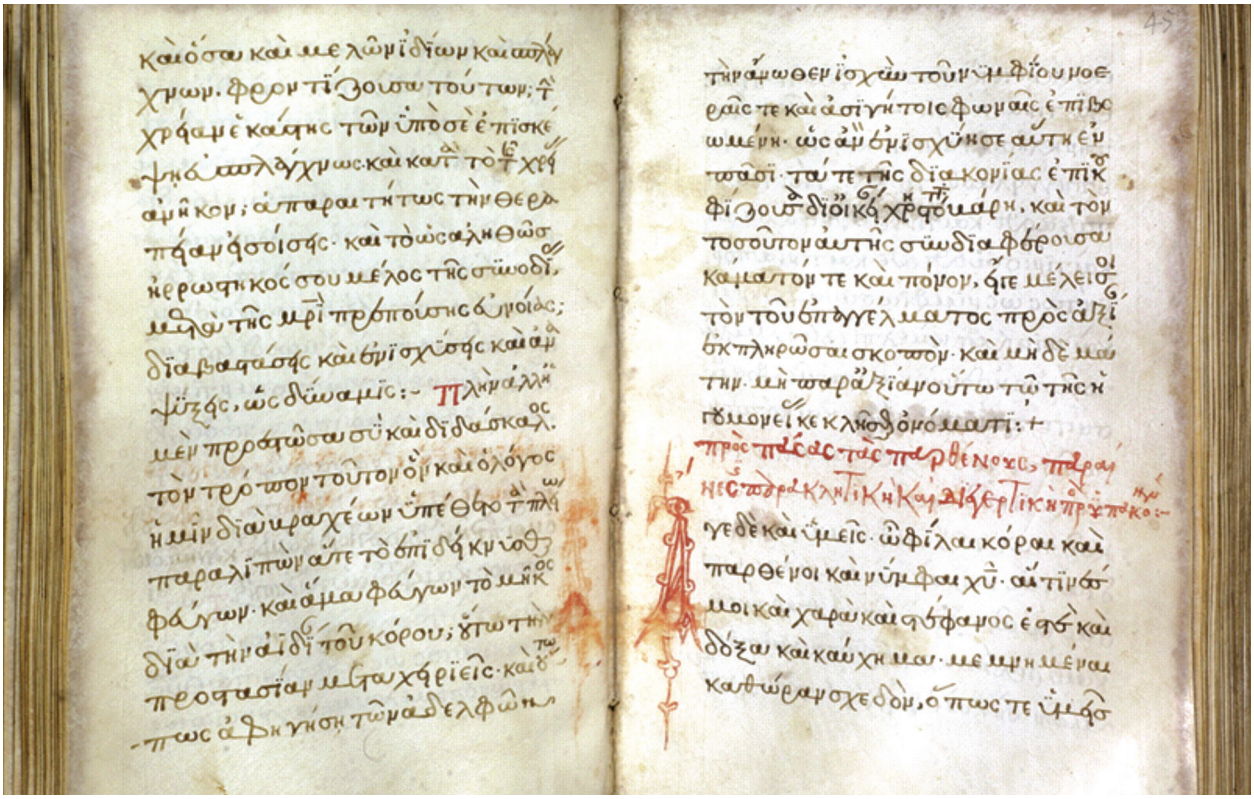

FIG. 4 Oxford, Lincoln College, gr. 35 (Lincoln College Typikon), fols. 44v–45r (© Lincoln College, Oxford)

only to the revised typikon (scribe *B*), and has little relevance for the original layer of the text written by hand *A*; it does not prove the manuscript's origins inside the convent. While—as with so many other problems surrounding the Lincoln College Typikon—no definite proof of *A* being a female hand can be advanced, to me it seems likely for two intertwined reasons. First, if the codex had been commissioned from a (male) scribe it seems likely that one would have chosen a professional calligrapher, not—as this essay will argue with regard to hand *A*—a fairly inexperienced beginner. In the former case the handwriting would have been executed in one of the contemporary fashions of writing, be it calligraphic—compare the archaizing handwriting practiced in and around the so-called "atelier of the Palaiologina"—or "scholarly-formal"—as evidenced in, e.g., Demetrios Triklines' 1308 copy of the *corpus Hermogenianum* or by the hand who copied the concluding epigram in the despotes Demetrios's illuminated menologion.[72] Second, instruction in "letters," i.e., handwriting, was available in the convent of the Theotokos of Certain Hope. The typikon remains somewhat vague on these matters but it becomes clear that such teaching fell into the *ekklesiarchissa*'s remit, whose interest it must have been to command a group of (moderately) literate and educated choir nuns: "the young nuns who devote all their efforts and zeal exclusively to chanting and to learning their letters

72 On Triklines' codex of the *corpus Hermogenianum* see A. Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Great Britain* (Washington, DC, 1980), 71–72 and fig. 49 (Oxford, New College, ms 258); on the dedicatory epigram in Demetrios Palaiologos's *menologion*, see the facsimile by C. López Menaza and I. Hutter, *Menologion bizantino de Oxford (Ms. Gr. th. f.1)*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 2006/7), fol. 55v–56r = I. Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften*, vol. 2, *Oxford, Bodleian Library II* (Stuttgart, 1978), 1–33 (no. 1), esp. figs. 104–5; P. Joannou, "Das Menologion des Despoten Demetrios I. Palaiologos," *BZ* 50 (1957): 307–9. Generally, I. Hutter, "Der *despotes* Demetrios Palaiologos und sein 'Bildmenologion' in Oxford," *JÖB* 57 (2007): 183–214.

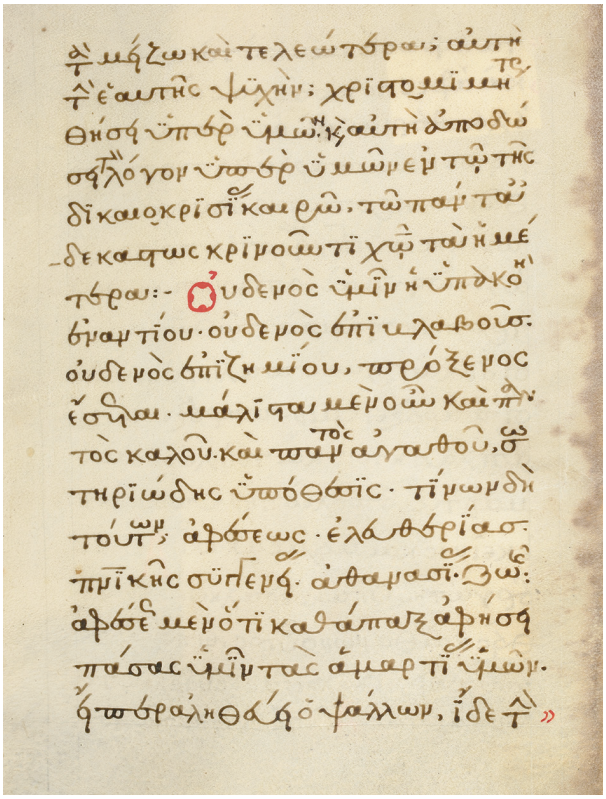

FIG. 5 Oxford, Lincoln College, gr. 35 (Lincoln College Typikon), fol. 48r (© Lincoln College, Oxford)

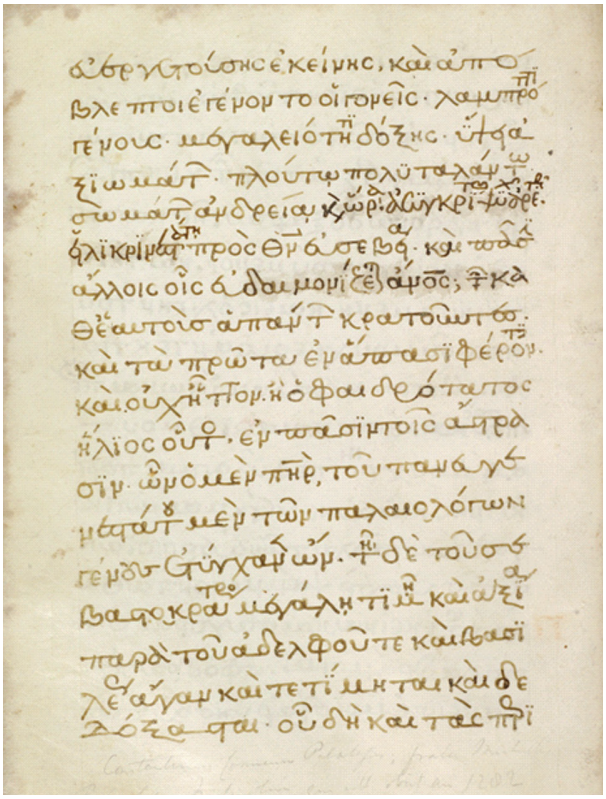

FIG. 6 Oxford, Lincoln College, gr. 35 (Lincoln College Typikon), fol. 20v (© Lincoln College, Oxford)

(ὥστε τὰ γράμματα ἐκπαιδεύεσθαι μόνα) will be under her authority and will be assigned to obey her."[73] Thus, the most likely explanation for the idiosyncracies of hand *A* seems to me that it belonged to a nun in the convent, who had not been trained in any of the venues or circles contemporary male scribes may have frequented.

One factor in particular that adds to the impression of *A*'s changing ductus and direction has not sufficiently been appreciated: this is the considerable amount of—meticulously corrected—scribal errors.[74] Already on the first page of the regular text of the original Lincoln College Typikon (fol. 16r), one can witness two such corrections;[75] there are few folios in the manuscript which do not feature one or more (see appendix for a full list). Hand *A* followed the contemporary fashion of making use of the space between the lines in order to fit final letters/syllables or tachygraphic abbreviations.[76] Additionally, wherever a correction occurs, the surplus letters tend to move into this interlinear space in turn muddling the impression further. E.g., on fol. 48r (fig. 5), in the third line from the top, one notes hand *A*'s characteristic circumflex-majuscule nu ligature in the space above the line. It had to move up in order to make space for the following καί, which *A* had initially omitted:

73 LCT 47.29–31 (§53), trans. *BMFD* 4:1538. The superior's role, by contrast, seems to have been limited to teaching morals. Schooling activity can further be inferred from the later revision that lay girls should no longer be admitted to the convent in order to receive an education: LCT 97.15–98.6 (§2), trans. *BMFD* 4:1523–24. On literacy in the convent see further Gastgeber, "Typikon Lincoln College" (n. 18 above), 95–96.

74 This quantification depends, of course, on what one compares the manuscript to; in the present context, liturgical and scholarly manuscripts of Constantinopolitan provenance would seem reasonable.

75 Hutter, "Geschichte," fig. 14, lines 2 and 13; for details see below, appendix.

76 On fig. 5 for the syllables ην (lines 2 and 17), ης (line 14), ας (lines 5, 14, 16), ως (lines 2 and 15), ον (correction above line 4).

καί in abbreviation, as visible here, usually occurs in the middle of a line only if corrections made space scarce; otherwise it was reserved for the end of the line. In the following fourth line, τ(ὸν), again initially omitted, sits slightly elevated between its neighbors and is abbreviated in order to save space. Fol. 20v features two large erasures (fig. 6). This altogether notable amount of scribal errors, and their meticulous correction, allow for two conclusions: either the nun who copied the original typikon was quite careless or, and this seems more plausible to my mind, she was relatively inexperienced. This would explain the somewhat clumsy appearance of hand *A*, which lacks clear direction but seems to gain fluency as the text progresses over the pages. Inexperience might also explain a violation of Gregory's law in the second quire of the original typikon—the innermost bifolio (24/25) was inserted the wrong way so flesh and hair sides clash between fols. 23/24 and 25/26—or the experimentation with colored ink in the table of contents, which finds its "regular" layout only in the second column (fig. 3). This hypothesis could, in turn, give a slightly different meaning to hand *D*, which added chapter titles and initials in red ink. According to Hutter, this happened years after *A* had finished her text, but there is of course no way of proving such a hiatus.[77] This visibly more experienced hand may therefore well have been the supervisor—e.g., the *ekklesiarchissa*—under whose guidance the volume was produced.

On the basis of these observations this essay should like to suggest a different hypothesis: that the original Lincoln College Typikon was, in fact, not so much a forgotten surplus copy as rather a copy handwritten by a relatively inexperienced nun, of possibly young age, still in training. This copy was stored, updated, and upgraded for a specific reason: in all likelihood because her handwriting carried some weight—with Theodora, Euphrosyne, or the convent as a whole—and made Euphrosyne keep this one copy, rather than commission a new deluxe version that would have matched the frontispieces in quality. Such a hypothesis seems to gain further support from the preceding analysis of the typikon's spiritual value, which suggests that its copying may have been set as a spiritually enhancing, perhaps rectifying, task for young nuns of the convent, in order to master both letters and discipline at the same time.[78] A calculated amount of virtue could be gained, a step toward sainthood be taken—the ultimate goal prescribed by the typikon.

This essay will return to this thought and its ramifications in the conclusion;[79] for now this alternative hypothesis raises the immediate question of whether any sort of significance was attached to individual hands in (late) Byzantine culture.[80] For the late antique and early middle Byzantine periods, pertinent examples of pious handwriting, especially during the Lenten period, can be adduced.[81] For the later centuries, the evidence is far less explicit: mentions especially in hagiography seem to all but disappear.[82] However, the continuing prominence of terms such as "with one's own hand" (οἰκειόχειρος, or as instrumental dative, οἰκείᾳ χειρί or οἰκείαις χερσί), "written by (one's own) hand" (χειρόγραφος, with the accompanying verb χειρογραφέω) especially in legal documents and commentaries suggests that it mattered

77 Hutter does not discuss this scribe but labeling her *D* seems to imply that she came last. There may be a misattribution of the title on fol. 121r of which Hutter, "Geschichte," 90 says: "Der Überschrift von Hand A zufolge . . . "; however, the heading, as all other headings, was supplied by *D*. But see eadem, *Corpus*, 57, where the title is correctly attributed to *D*.

78 G. Cavallo's notion of writing as an act of intensive reading comes to mind (*Lire à Byzance* [Paris, 2006], 67–82 = *Leggere a Bisanzio* [Milan, 2007], 87–106) although, of course, not in the sense of producing an annotated version.

79 Connor, *Women of Byzantium*, 285 seems to suggest that hand *A* may belong to Theodora/Theodoule, without pursuing the thought further.

80 I am very grateful to Dr. Antony Eastmond for raising this important question. The examples here offered provide a cursory survey only; the question is in need of further research.

81 C. Rapp, "Holy Texts, Holy Men, and Holy Scribes: Aspects of Scriptural Holiness in Late Antiquity," in *The Early Christian Book*, ed. W. E. Klingshirn and L. Safran (Washington, DC, 2007), 194–222, esp. 209, about the future Constantinopolitan patriarchs Methodios and Euthymios. The *Vita Euthymii Patriarchae CP*, ed. P. Karlin-Hayter (Brussels, 1970), 59.4–5 (chap. 9) has its protagonist present "a codex of his Lenten sermons 'calligraphically written in his own hand' to the monks of the monastery (καὶ ταῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ λεχθείσαις τῆς πρώτης ἑβδομάδος ὁμιλίαις οἰκείαις χερσὶ καλλιγραφήσας ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐν τῇ μονῇ ἀδελφοῖς παρέσχετο)" (Rapp's translation). Rapp, "Holy Texts," 209n69 concludes, "Clearly, the identity of the scribe adds a special significance to the codex when it is presented as a gift." See also D. Krueger, *Writing and Holiness: The Practice of Authorship in the Early Christian East* (Philadelphia, 2004).

82 Dr. Alice-Mary Talbot kindly confirms that she has not come across any comparable passages in late Byzantine hagiographical writing.

who wrote, at least under certain circumstances.[83] An intriguing case involving female handwriting, in the figure of Anna Palaiologina Asanina, aunt of Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos, is recorded in the patriarchal register:[84] the Asanina alleged to have sold a vineyard to her brother-in-law, Georgios Goudeles, only under pressure from her husband, Palaiologos. In the end the Asanina conceded to have held the pen (*kondylion*) but insisted not to have signed the deed in her own hand (ἡ Ἀσανίνα κρατῆσαι μὲν διωμολόγησε τὸ κονδύλιον, τὰ δὲ γράμματα μὴ εἶναι οἰκειόχειρα ἔλεγεν).[85] This caused consternation among the witnesses; the following passage seems to suggest that female handwriting could be identified by its particular shape: "and indeed this was hard to understand how she contended to merely have held the pen, *but the letters happened to be by a woman's hand*; and there was no other woman present who [could have] signed in her stead" (καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο τῶν ἀπόρων πῶς αὐτὴ μὲν μόνον κρατῆσαι διετείνετο τὸ κονδήλιον, τὰ δὲ γράμματα γυναικεῖα τυγχάνουσιν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλη ἐκεῖ ἦν ὑπογράφουσα ἀντ' αὐτῆς).[86] As the Asanina was not able to adduce additional witnesses in support of her claims the patriarch ultimately ruled in Goudeles' favor. Further evidence for the importance of individual handwriting can be adduced from the historical narrative of Georgios Pachymeres, who reports in his chapter on the marriage and coronation of Andronikos II as coemperor: "Further it was granted to him to issue *prostagmata* and sign in the imperial manner—with the exception of affixing the *menologema*, as is the custom of the emperors—but to write exactly, with red letters *in his own hand*, 'Andronikos by the grace of Christ emperor of the Romans.'"[87] Likewise the *mesazon* Georgios Mouzalon "was all the while disregarded (by Emperor Michael VIII) until not only did he accept the peace in assurances written in his own hand, but was ready to do more than this if the emperor commanded."[88] Athanasios I, finally, when reinstalled on the patriarchal throne, was required to submit a firm apology written in his own hand: "Then, as he was ready to inscribe his apology in trustworthy letters, as it was demanded, taking a piece of paper he wrote the following."[89]

On the other hand, care for one's writings and autography were not necessarily connected. For Andronikos II's wealthy ministers, Nikephoros Choumnos and Theodoros Metochites, it was perfectly acceptable to employ professional scribes to fix their significant oeuvres on parchment. The case of Theodoros Metochites is especially illustrative, with its close connection between the refoundation of the Chora monastery and this foundation's celebration in glorious hexameters, subsequently joined by concern for the survival of his calligraphically written and carefully corrected manuscripts in the library of the Chora which he entrusted specifically to his disciple, Nikephoros Gregoras.[90] However, these collected oeuvres played a role rather different from the one played by an objectified text such as the Lincoln College Typikon. One may thus cautiously infer that early Palaiologan Byzantium, perhaps less explicitly than in earlier centuries, did differentiate between hands and assigned significance to them.

Excursus: The Lips Typikon and Female Handwriting

At this point, a comparative glance at a seemingly very different manuscript may prove methodologically useful: the typikon of Theodora Palaiologina's convent of the Theotokos of Lips, nowadays preserved in the British

83 In the Komnenian period, Athanasios Philanthropenos's typikon for the monastery of St. Mamas emphasizes signatures in one's own hand.

84 MM 2:361–66, esp. 364; cf. J. Darrouzès, *Les Regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. 6, *Les Regestes de 1377 à 1410* (Paris, 1979), no. 3113. On Anna Palaiologina Asanina, see *PLP* #1526. I am grateful to one of the anonymous readers for *DOP* for bringing this case to my attention.

85 MM 2:364.25–26.

86 MM 2:364.27–30 (my italics).

87 Failler, *Georges Pachymérès* (n. 10 above), 2:415.3–6 (4.29): ἐδόθη δὲ καὶ προστάσσειν καὶ ὑπογράφειν βασιλικῶς, πλὴν οὐ μηνολογεῖν, ὡς ἔθος τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, ἀλλὰ διεξοδικῶς γράφειν δι' ἐρυθρῶν οἰκείᾳ χειρί· Ἀνδρόνικος Χριστοῦ χάριτι βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων.

88 Ibid., 2:627.6–8 (6.26): καὶ παρεωραμένος διετέλει μέχρις οὗ οἰκειοχείροις ἀσφαλείαις μὴ μόνον προσήκατο τὴν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλέον ἦν ἕτοιμος, εἰ κελεύοι, πράττειν. See also ibid., 4:513.31 (12.2): γράμμασι καὶ ἀσφαλείαις οἰκειοχείροις.

89 Ibid., 3:281.10–12 (9.24): τότε δὲ ἐπεὶ καὶ ἕτοιμος ἦν γράμμασι πιστοῖς ἐγχαράξαι τὰ τῆς ἀπολογίας, ὡς καὶ ἀπῄτητο, λαβὼν χάρτην οἰκειοχείρως τὰ πλεῖστα τάδ' ἔγραψεν.

90 P. Magdalino, "Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and Constantinople," and J. M. Featherstone, "Metochites's Poems and the Chora," both in *Kariye Camii yeniden/Kariye Camii Reconsidered*, ed. H. A. Klein, R. Ousterhout, and B. Pitarakis (Istanbul, 2011), 169–87, 215–39.

Library, ms Add. 22,748.[91] Unlike the Lincoln College Typikon and as befits a dowager empress, this can clearly be identified as a deluxe manuscript. In a sense, it gives an idea of what the Lincoln College Typikon ought to have looked like if its commissioner had wanted to match the quality of the frontispieces in the text block: the text is executed on leaves of white parchment featuring ample margins.[92] While the typikon claims to have been composed by Theodora herself, Alice-Mary Talbot has shown that the dowager empress in fact employed a ghostwriter—possibly the just-mentioned Theodoros Metochites—who subsequently boasted of his achievements, which survived in the margins of a manuscript of Dionysios the Areopagite nowadays in the Vatican, Vat. gr. 1787 (fol. 4v).[93] Robert Nelson and John Lowden provided a brief assessment of the manuscript in their reexamination of the so-called "atelier of the Palaiologina."[94] This "atelier," or "group," was at some point believed to have masterminded, toward the end of the thirteenth century, the production of a number of deluxe codices comprising liturgical and religious texts—psalters, gospels, lectionaries—of exceptionally fine quality;[95] some twenty-five manuscripts of Constantinopolitan origin have been linked to this group either by their elegant archaizing script or the fine quality of their illustrations. From monograms which can be deciphered as "of the Palaiologina"—Τ(ΗΣ) ΠΑΛ(ΑΙΟΛΟ)ΓΙ(ΝΗΣ)[96]—in Vat. gr. 1158 and Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Vitr. 26-4 and emblems of double-headed eagles decorating an original binding kept in the Bodleian Library,[97] this group received its name. However, there is no certainty as to who this Palaiologina was, and if indeed all three manuscripts which allow one to make this connection were commissioned by the same individual. Variously, Theodora Raoulaina and Theodora Palaiologina have been proposed.[98] Even less it is believed, then, that all twenty-five manuscripts of the group were produced for one and the same patroness; the term has rather become a convenient shortcut to refer to a group of calligraphers or artists who catered to a number of élite patrons, some of them (female) members of the Palaiologos clan, over several decades.[99] The scriptorium at the Theotokos *ton Hodegon* monastery, which flourished later in the fourteenth century, seems to have taken some inspiration from this cluster.[100] On the basis of the illuminated initials present in the Lips typikon,[101] Nelson and Lowden brought the manuscript into the framework of the supposed "atelier." At the same time the two scholars real-

91 See http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_22748 (accessed 19 September 2015).

92 The Lips typikon measures 260 × 195 mm with the writing, of ten lines to a page, covering ca. 160 × 135 mm. This compares favorably to the LCT's 235 × 170 mm with 16–17 lines to a page, written in a field of ca. 180 × 150 mm. However, as clearly visible on, e.g., fols. 26v or 66r, the LCT lost a minimum of 10 mm in size in all directions through trimming in the process of rebinding.

93 An originally eleventh-century manuscript the ghostwriter presumably donated to the Lips convent; see de Gregorio, "Epigrammi e documenti" (n. 14 above), 96–111 and figs. 3–4. De Gregorio identifies the ghostwriter with Theodoros Metochites; the text of the epigram (ibid., 99) runs as follows: τυπογραφήσας προσταγῇ βασιλίδος / τῆς Δουκοφυοῦς Θεοδώρας / καὶ ταῖς μοναχαῖς ὡς χρεὼν ζῆν θεσπίσας / ἔσχηκα θερμὸν τῆς μονῆς ἔνθεν πόθον / συνεισενεγκεῖν τοιγαροῦν συχνὰ θέλων / δείκνυμι τὴν βούλησιν ἐκ τῆς πυξίδος / καὶ πρόσφορον γὰρ δῶρον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ βίβλος / καὶ βίβλος ἣ δίδωσι δογμάτων τύπον / καὶ χριστιανοῖς εὖ Χριστὸν πείθει σέβειν / καὶ κατὰ Χριστὸν ὡς ἐνὸν ζῆν προτρέπει. Talbot, "Theodora Palaiologina" (n. 6 above), 298–99 and n. 40 infers from the cross—διὰ οἰκειοχείρου σταυροῦ—with which the dowager empress verified her 1283 confession of faith that the latter may well have been illiterate. On the ghostwriter see also J. Thomas, *BMFD* 3:1256.

94 Nelson and Lowden, "Palaeologina Group" (n. 61 above), 65–67.

95 Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople* (n. 61 above); B. Fonkič, "*Scriptoria* bizantini: Risultati e prospettive della ricerca," *RSBN* n.s. 17–19 (1980–82): 73–118, esp. 113–16; Nelson and Lowden, "Palaeologina Group"; G. Prato, "Scritture librarie arcaizzanti della prima età dei Paleologi e loro modelli," *Scrittura & Civiltà* 3 (1979): 151–93, repr. in idem, *Studi di palaeografia greca*, 73–114, esp. 78–89 (here quoted); K. Maxwell, "Another Lectionary of the 'Atelier' of the Palaiologina, Vat. gr. 352," *DOP* 54 (2000): 117–38; Pérez Martín, "Estilo Hodegos" (n. 61 above), 417–31; I. Hutter, "Schreiber und Maler der Palaiologenzeit in Konstantinopel," in *Πρακτικά του ς΄ Διεθνούς Συμποσίου Ελληνικής Παλαιογραφίας (Δράμα, 21–27 Σεπτεμβρίου 2003)*, ed. B. Atsalos and N. Tsirone (Athens, 2008), 1:159–90.

96 Riehle, "Theodora Raoulaina" (n. 4 above), 309–10n49.

97 For the monograms, see Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople*, figs. 19a–b and Pérez Martín, "Estilo Hodegos," fig. 1; for the binding of ms Barocci 31 below, n. 148.

98 Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople*, 100–101; Nelson and Lowden, "Palaeologina Group" (n. 61 above), 65.

99 Nelson and Lowden, "Palaeologina Group," 59–60, 66, 68.

100 Pérez Martín, "Estilo Hodegos," 419, 427–31—see also L. Politis, "Quelques centres de copie monastiques du XIVe siècle," in *La paléographie grecque et byzantine, Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris 21–25 octobre 1974, No 559* (Paris, 1977), 291–302, esp. 293.

101 E.g., on fols. 24r, 26v, 40v, 44r, 50v, 57r, 78r, 80r, 86r, 90r, 94v, 100r (fig. 8), 104v, 105r, and 112r.

ized that the hand that copied it differs considerably from the archaizing fashion one expects to find in the manuscripts "of the Palaiologina." Instead Nelson and Lowden offered comparable hands active in the imperial chancellery:[102] "While a modern eye accustomed to the elegant calligraphy of the Palaeologina group might judge the Lips typikon inferior, its contemporaries may have seen the matter differently, because the script closely resembles that of chrysobulls emanating from Andronikos II."[103] Without doubt they are right in pointing to certain similarities in letter forms,[104] and indeed chancellery hands are closer in overall appearance to the Lips typikon than the archaizing hands of contemporary liturgical books as produced in the "atelier." But neither enlarged letters nor the specific forms in which these were executed were limited to the imperial chancellery, which no longer commanded the prerogative of writing in a certain fashion. Nevertheless the chancellery managed to retain a certain style over decades, a style, however, matched in contemporary scholarly manuscripts. Imperial documents of the period agree with the Lips typikon in the sense that they feature few to no tachygraphic abbreviations, make frequent use of certain ligatures—such as alpha connecting to an open rho (fig. 7, line 8; fig. 9, line 8)—and, as noted by Nelson and Lowden, show a tendency to pile up the final letters of a word, frequently in ligature.

However, there is as much that sets the Lips typikon apart from contemporary chancellery hands as might suggest a connection. In terms of ductus, most chancellery hands lean clearly to the right, reflecting the speed and fluidity of writing.[105] The hand of the Lips typikon only very modestly slants to the right, and far from consistently; in fact, some letters seem upright with others leaning to the left, less pronouncedly so than hand *A* in the Lincoln College Typikon but visibly nevertheless. Fairly perpendicular hands can also be found among the scribes of the imperial chancellery, such as famously Michael Klostomalles—the "Metochitesschreiber"—or the hand responsible for two chrysobulls in favor of Chilandar monastery dating to June 1300.[106] But these hands—representing, in a sense, more formal, calligraphic versions of contemporary scholarly fashions—are quite different from the Lips typikon's hand, and not necessarily so because the typikon shows a more "elegant variant of the imperial chancellery scripts used for legal documents, or precisely what the typikon was intended to be."[107] Rather, with the exception of certain (majuscule) letters such as epsilon and occasionally omicron, which are minimized in accordance with contemporary fashion, the Lips typikon's scribe executed many letters in large size.[108] In fact it seems as if the scribe deliberately strove to make letters rest between two lines, as majuscule letters do, rather than to frequently transgress head- and baseline in minuscule fashion. Indeed almost all letters, be they written in their minuscule or majuscule form, seem to rest on an—imaginary, as the manuscript is not ruled—baseline (fig. 7).[109] Other than the occasional epsilon-iota[110] or rho-omicron ligatures and the odd kappa, lambda, phi or chi, the hand of the Lips

102 A proposition accepted by de Gregorio, "Epigrammi e documenti," 102–3n447 and Cavallo, "*Typika ktetorika*," 523 (both n. 14 above).

103 Nelson and Lowden, "Palaeologina Group," 66.

104 In particular, they point to the pretzel-shaped beta, the three-bellied xi opening to the right, and a small scholarly alpha placed above the line: ibid., 66n76.

105 On chancellery hands see E. Lamberz, "Georgios Bullotes, Michael Klostomalles und die byzantinische Kaiserkanzlei unter Andronikos II. und Andronikos III. in den Jahren 1298–1329," in *Lire et écrire à Byzance*, ed. B. Mondrain (Paris, 2006), 33–48, esp. figs. 3–11.

106 On Klostomalles, E. Lamberz, "Das Geschenk des Kaisers Manuel II. an das Kloster Saint-Denis und der 'Metochitesschreiber' Michael Klostomalles," in *Λιθόστρωτον: Studien zur byzantinischen Kunst und Geschichte; Festschrift für Marcell Restle*, ed. B. Borkopp and T. Steppan (Stuttgart, 2000), 155–65; G. Prato, "I manoscritti greci dei secoli XIII e XIV: Note palaeografiche," in *Palaeografia e codicologia greca: Atti del II Colloquio internazionale (Berlino–Wolfenbüttel, 17–21 ottobre 1983)*, ed. D. Harlfinger and G. Prato (Alessandria, 1991), 1:131–49, esp. 140–49, and 2:79–96 (figs. 1a–16b, esp. figs. 6–16b), repr. in idem, *Studi di paleografia greca* (Spoleto, 1994), 115–31, esp. 123–31, figs. 9–24; and D. Bianconi, "Il Laur. Plut. 28.26 ovvero la storia di Bisanzio nella storia di un codice," in *Alethes philia: Studi in onore di Giancarlo Prato*, ed. M. D'Agostino and P. Degni (Spoleto, 2010), 1:39–63. On the scribe of the June 1300 chrysobulls, M. Živojinović, V. Kravari, and C. Giros, *Actes de Chilandar*, vol. 1, *Des origines à 1319* (Paris, 1998), 175–80nn19–20, pls. XXVIII–XXIX.

107 Nelson and Lowden, "Palaeologina Group" (n. 61 above), 66.

108 Both in majuscule—alpha, beta, eta, lambda, mu, omicron, pi, upsilon, omega, as well as theta and phi (the latter two frequently showing an ornament in the middle of the stroke crossing the circle)—and minuscule—alpha, etc. See figs. 7, 9.

109 See, for example, fol. 17r, lines 2–3, or fol. 19r, lines 6–10.

110 Fig. 8, line 3; line 7, the ligature fits the space between head- and baseline. A more pronounced example can be found, e.g., on fol. 3r, line 4.

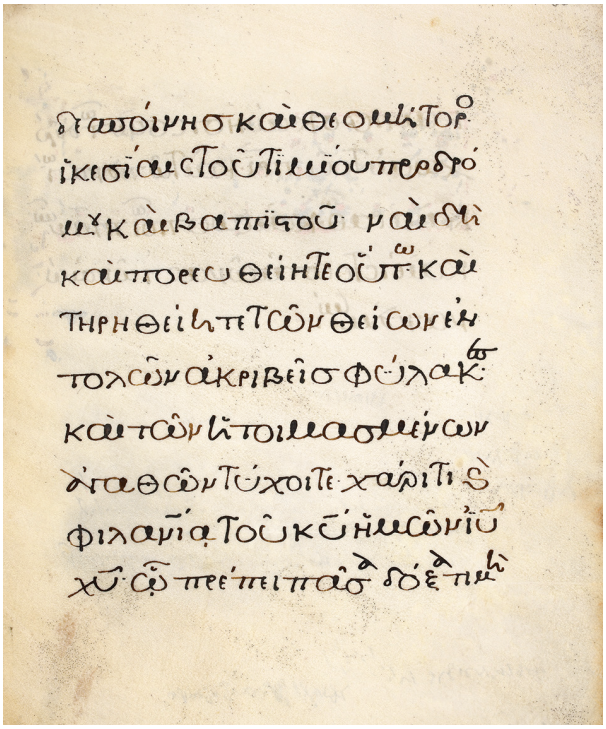

FIG. 7 London, British Library, Add. 22,748 (Lips Typikon), fol. 56r (© The British Library Board)

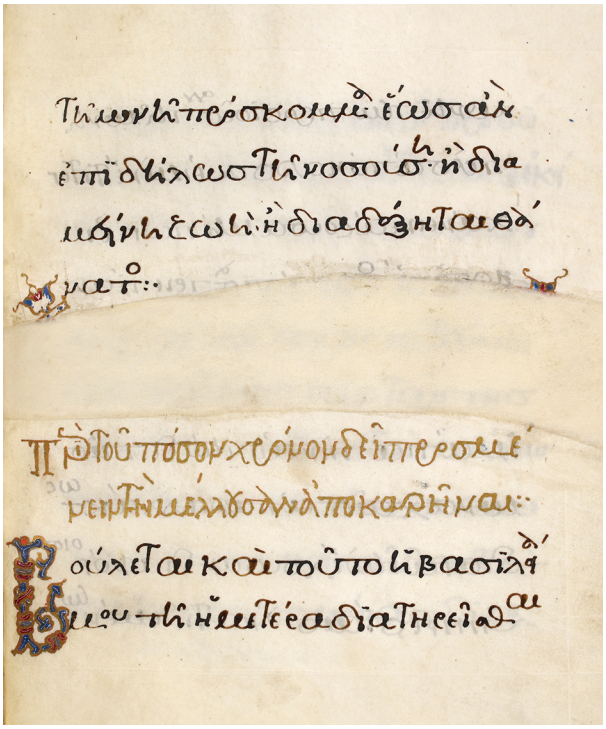

FIG. 8 London, British Library, Add. 22,748 (Lips Typikon), fol. 100r (© The British Library Board)

typikon consciously seems to avoid transgressing the baseline. Ascending letters and ligatures—especially, umbrella-shaped tau, but also majuscule gamma, delta, or epsilon-rho/tau-rho ligatures—are far more common and somewhat mitigate the impression of bilinearity (figs. 7–9). Altogether this hand appears rather different from the slanted chancellery hands with their deliberate and careful interplay of enlarged and smaller letters and their readiness to descend below the baseline,[111] and it seems to suggest a different aesthetic framework. The Lips typikon's hand does, to be sure, find a distant reflection in certain hands associated with the "Palaiologina group," such as Vat. Pal. gr. 381—in the sense that many letters seem enlarged for aesthetic purposes—yet with the difference that ascending and descending strokes are far more pronounced in the latter.[112] In terms of letter size there also seems to be a certain proximity to Vat. gr. 1851, the famous "Vatican *epithalamion*." The terms Prato chooses to describe the latter—"carattere artificioso," and "tendenza ad ingrossare esageratamente alcune lettere"—seem to indicate that it does not fit any established drawer either,[113] while sharing features with the Lips typikon. Further peculiar details make it seem rather unlikely that the Lips typikon, in spite of its appearance, was written by a *pepaideumenos* or calligrapher in the imperial chancel-

111 Lamberz, "Byzantinische Kaiserkanzlei" (n. 105 above), 38–39: "Der Wechsel von kleinen und großen Buchstaben erscheint bewußt gestaltet, so daß sich ein gleichmäßiges, kalligraphisches Schriftbild ergibt . . . Unmittelbar aufeinander folgende vergrößerte Buchstaben sind eher vermieden."

112 Prato, "Scritture librarie" (n. 95 above), esp. 87–88 and fig. 3.

113 Ibid., 91–93 and pls. 6–7 (quotes 92–93, "carattere artificioso" twice); Prato also connects the manuscript with Theodoros Hagiopetrites' codex Coislin. 13—on the latter see R. S. Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrites: A Late Byzantine Scribe and Illuminator* (Vienna, 1991), 2: figs. 12b–c. See Spatharakis, *Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, 210–30, pls. 158–73; C. Hennessy, "A Child Bride and Her Representation in the Vatican *Epithalamion*, cod. gr. 1851," *BMGS* 30 (2006): 115–50. C. Hilsdale, "Constructing a Byzantine *Augusta*: A Greek Book for a French Bride," *Art Bulletin* 57 (2005): 458–83 accepts a twelfth-century date but offers useful illustrative material. The manuscript is slated to appear on http://bav.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/digitized-items-greek-manuscripts.

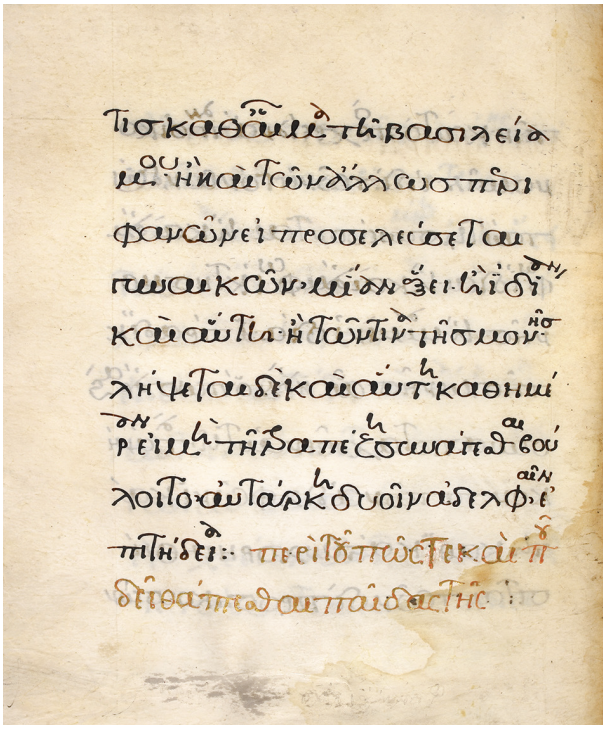

FIG. 9 London, British Library, Add. 22,748 (Lips Typikon), fol. 32r (© The British Library Board)

lery, such as, for example, the word ἡμέραν on fol. 32v (fig. 9, lines 6–7). The piling-up of letters or abbreviations in final or medial position on the line is a common enough phenomenon, sometimes even above the initial word of a line if this word begins on that line, such as μ^ου in line 2 of the same folio. However, it is quite rare to find an example in which a word would be "hyphenated"[114] with the last syllable moving to the following line, and immediately up.[115] This seems to violate the rules of expert mise-en-page which aim at expanding upward toward the end of a line, and I find it difficult to imagine a chancellery scribe/calligrapher arranging the text in this way.

It seemed necessary to go into some detail in order to raise the methodological question of what to do with a manuscript that does not seem to fit any drawer. Ought one to assume that high-quality writing is most likely to have been performed by men, and proceed to equate the Lips typikon to the closest *comparanda* rather than to stress its idiosyncrasies? Judging from the Lincoln College Typikon's likely origin from within the convent of Certain Hope, and realizing the enormous spiritual significance these typika possessed for their respective monastic communities, it may be worthwhile entertaining the thought that the Lips typikon might also have been written by a nun of Theodora Palaiologina's convent—as different as its outward appearance may be from the Lincoln College Typikon. Female writing is, of course, little explored, as few samples are known. Yet while Theodora Palaiologina, wife of Michael VIII, employed Metochites or someone else to compose the typikon, it is not inconceivable that a choir nun in her convent later copied its text into the surviving manuscript—especially so as the surviving copy seems to have been destined for the subordinate convent of the Hagioi Anargyroi, not the Lips itself.[116] It is imaginable that the codex, once the handwriting had been completed, was given away and the splendid rubrics were added by "professional artists" in the framework of the "atelier of the Palaiologina" (fig. 8); yet again one may wonder why female scribes and artists of some training ought not have been able to accomplish such ornamental initials themselves. Assuming that both manuscripts, the Lincoln College Typikon and the Lips typikon, different manuscripts as they are, were written by women with beginners'—in the case of the original Lincoln College Typikon[117]—or considerable—as in the case of the Lips typikon—experience but perhaps not to the same degree of training as male calligraphers would have received[118] helps resolve some of the oddities both

114 Unlike hands *A* and *B* in the LCT, the Lips typikon's scribe does not employ hyphens.

115 Further examples can be found in the Lips typikon, such as fol. 30r, line 5, fol. 31r, line 6, or fol. 71, lines 4 and 6; there are similar occurrences in the LCT, e.g., fols. 18v, lines 5–6, 19v, lines 7–8, 22r, lines 7–8, 49v, lines 7–8.

116 J. Thomas, *BMFD* 3:1287.

117 Obviously, the scribe was not an absolute beginner: she mastered various ligatures and tachygraphic abbreviations while, at the same time, being prone to losing the line, omitting words, or committing (antistoichic) mistakes.

118 Hutter, "Geschichte" (n. 10 above), 108: ". . . ein interessantes Beispiel für den ohne professionelle Schulung erreichbaren kalligraphischen Standard." For an overview of current research on writing and reading in western nunneries see the contributions to V. Blanton, V. O'Mara, and P. Stoop, eds., *Nuns' Literacies in Medieval Europe: The Hull Dialogue* (Turnhout, 2013).

manuscripts present. One might add that Vat. gr. 1851, whoever its scribe, was also quite closely tied into female court culture.[119]

One reason why scholars seem not to put much faith in late Byzantine women producing calligraphic manuscripts may well be that the few women writers known did not either write calligraphically or speak highly of their abilities with the *kalamos*.[120] The episode involving Anna Asanina quoted above spoke of "letters by a woman's hand," but should one really infer from this that female writing could always be recognized as such? The Aelius Aristeides and Simplicius manuscripts (Vat. gr. 1899 and Mosqu. Mus. 3649, respectively) written by the learned Theodora Raoulaina in her own hand follow the scholarly fashion of the time and lack calligraphic aspiration.[121] Eirene/Eulogia Choumnaina, on the other hand, was considerably less well educated and complained to her spiritual father about her handwriting.[122] The latter encouraged her that "if you have trouble reading this letter because of my bad handwriting, think of yours and you shall have less trouble";[123] Eirene/Eulogia in turn remarked that the spiritual father's "handwriting and its confusion made me turn away from the reading, but the beauty of what you wrote held me bound with 'manacles of iron.'"[124] But these were aristocratic, even imperial, women who—possibly like scribe *A* of the Lincoln College Typikon—did not write for a living but for very different motivations. Eirene Hagiopetritissa on the other hand, the daughter of Thessalonian calligrapher Theodoros Hagiopetrites, is the sole example of the daughter of a professional scribe who left behind a manuscript written in her own hand; unfortunately, only one codex written by her has so far been identified.[125]

The final question to raise, with the so-called "atelier of the Palaiologina" now rather perceived as fashions of writing and illumination, which were current across Constantinople and were probably executed in parallel in several workshops rather than a single location, is whether it is truly inconceivable that a handful of choir nuns at Lips, the convent of the Theotokos of Certain Hope, or other Constantinopolitan nunneries for that matter, wrote, and possibly also rubricated, manuscripts that were able to compete with the finest contemporary products achieved by their male peers. One certainly notes the artistic similes and metaphors Theodora Synadene employed in her exhortation to model oneself on the example of saints' lives.[126] Might the nuns at the convent of the Theotokos of Certain Hope, and elsewhere, also literally have produced "flowers and colors," as skillful and master artists did?[127]

Performances of Imperial Descent

It remains to reexamine the series of family portraits both in view of possible contemporary connotations and the observations made to this point. As is well known, the present arrangement of folios is muddled; the original order was reconstructed by Spatharakis (fig. 2).[128] The genealogy of these images has been

119 Here I follow Hennessy, "Child Bride."

120 For a survey of female scribes in Byzantium see P. Schreiner, "Kopistinnen in Byzanz, Mit einer Anmerkung zur Schreiberin Eugenia im Par. lat. 7560," *RSBN* n.s. 36 (1999), 35–46, repr. in *Byzantinische Kultur: Eine Aufsatzsammlung*, vol. 2, *Das Wissen*, ed. N. Gaul and S. Ronchey (Rome, 2009), no. XVI.

121 A. Turyn, *Codices graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scriptis annorumque notis instructi* (Vatican, 1964), 63–65 and fig. 36; Fonkič, "*Scriptoria* bizantini" (n. 95 above), 113–16; E. Gamillscheg, D. Harlfinger, and H. Hunger, *Repertorium griechischer Kopisten 800–1600*, vol. 3, *Handschriften aus den Bibliotheken Roms mit dem Vatikan* (Vienna, 1997), no. 206; Riehle, "Theodora Raulaina" (n. 4 above), 308–9.

122 A. Constantinides Hero, *A Woman's Quest for Spiritual Guidance: The Correspondence of Princess Irene Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina* (Brookline, MA, 1986), 22 and *Ep.* 1.5–6 (p. 28): τήν τε ἰδιωτείαν καὶ ἀμαθίαν εἰς τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῆς γραμματικῆς ἐκ τῶν ἀντιστοίχων καὶ τῶν τόνων.

123 Ibid., *Ep.* 10.37–39 (p. 58): τὰ γράμματα δὲ ταῦτα εἰ δυσχεραίνεις ἀναγινώσκουσα διὰ τὸ κακοχάραγον, εὐθυμοῦ τὰ σεαυτῆς καὶ ἧττον δυσχεραίνεις. Hero's translation.

124 Ibid., *Ep.* 13.48–50 (p. 66): ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ τῆς τούτων συγχύσεως τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν ἀποστρεφόμεθα, ἡ δὲ τῆς γραφῆς καλλονὴ ἰσχυρῶς πεδήσασα ἡμᾶς ἐν χειροπέδαις σιδηραῖς (Ps. 149 [150].8) κατεῖχεν ἰσχυρῶς. Hero's translation.

125 A. W. Carr, "A Note on Theodore Hagiopetrites," *Scriptorium* 35 (1981): 287–90. On Hagiopetrites see Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopetrites* (n. 113 above); Eirene is mentioned in passing, ibid., 18 and 25.

126 Above p. 247 and n. 33.

127 Given the lack of clear evidence, this must remain inconclusive; nevertheless it seems important to raise the issue.

128 Spatharakis, *Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (n. 14 above), 191. For detailed discussions of the frontispiece series, see Cutler and Magdalino, "Some Precisions" (n. 14 above), 184–92; Hutter, *Corpus* (n. 2 above), 58–61; L. Brubaker, "Pictures Are Good to Think With: Looking at Byzantium," in *L'Écriture de la mémoire: La littérarité de l'historiographie*, ed. P. Odorico, P. A. Agapitos, and M. Hinterberger (Paris, 2006), 221–40, esp. 229–33; previously eadem, "Art and Byzantine Identity: Saints, Portraits, and the

controversial: Hutter maintains that all miniatures were produced at the same time and are copies of (hypothetical) originals which adorned the (hypothetical, now lost) deluxe version she assumes was produced for the *ephoros* Theodoros Synadenos in the early 1330s; Hennessy, on the other hand, suggests that the "monastic" miniatures—those presently on fols. 7r (originally, 3r), 10v, 11r and 12r—predate the family portraits by several decades and sees "little evidence to support the notion that these portraits are copies"; she thinks it "much safer to suggest that they are originals."[129] Hutter argued that the first folio of the original Lincoln College Typikon was kept empty to accommodate a miniature similar to the one on fol. 7r of the current typikon;[130] by contrast, Hennessy hypothesizes that the exemplar was already prefaced with all four monastically themed miniatures.[131]

Even with no certain answers to these questions, the display of the family portraits merits rethinking. One easily notes that they must have been covered with cloth at some point of their history: this can best be seen on what is now fol. 5r (originally 6r; fig. 10), the portrait of the *megas primmikerios* Manuel Komnenos Raul Asanes and his wife Anna Komnene Doukaina Palaiologina Asanina, Theodoros Synadenos's daughter, where "stitching in heavy red silk"[132] runs across the top of the folio (compare also fig. 11). Connor observes that "curtains were apparently once sewn onto each page covering one of the images." She concludes that this may have happened "simply as a protective measure," but suggests that "there is another plausible explanation: . . . the colorfully gleaming frontispieces of the typikon had their own silk veils, which were parted or lifted when the manuscript was viewed."[133] The question arises whether these portraits were indeed veiled from the very moment of their insertion in the manuscript: the date of such veils—usually made of silk, off-white or beige, sometimes crimson red—is currently a matter of vivid debate. While they are frequently thought to be the work of later librarians, Sciacca, examining the issue of veiling in medieval manuscripts in general and across a large sample of manuscripts, reached a different, far more optimistic conclusion. She argues that "while some manuscripts clearly contain curtains that are of a later date, these are most likely replacements for damaged or lost medieval textiles or at the very least, their insertion emulates a medieval

FIG. 10 Oxford, Lincoln College, gr. 35 (Lincoln College Typikon), fol. 5r (© Lincoln College, Oxford)

Lincoln College Typikon," in *Byzantium: Identity, Image, Influence; Major Papers, XIXth International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, ed. K. Fledelius (Copenhagen, 1996), 51–59, esp. 55; Connor, *Women of Byzantium* (n. 14 above), 279–85.

129 Hennessy, *Images of Children* (n. 41 above), 108 and eadem, "Lincoln College Typikon" (n. 50 above), 106, against Hutter, "Geschichte" (n. 10 above), 106. However, Hutter is surely right in assuming that the frontispieces in the LCT were all made at the same point of time in the late 1320s or early 1330s: the four miniatures Hennessy refers to might be copies of earlier ones, rather than the whole series copies of contemporary models, but since their iconography seems intricately connected to the family portraits proper, I see little ground on which this claim can be proven.

130 Hutter, "Geschichte," 108–9.

131 Hennessy, *Images of Children*, 105–9; eadem, "Lincoln College Typikon," 106–7.

132 Connor, *Women of Byzantium*, 303.

133 Ibid., 303–4.

practice which was well known to later generations of bookmakers and bibliophiles."[134] Indeed she can offer some material as well as written evidence—albeit largely from western/Latin later medieval sources—that clearly proves the existence of fabric in manuscripts of the (later) Middle Ages. The most striking one comes from the early twelfth-century Dunfermline *vita* of St. Margaret queen of Scots, describing a luxurious Gospel book that the queen cherished above her other books. One day it fell into a river; after much searching "finally, it was found at the bottom of the river lying open, so that its pages were constantly agitated by the assault of the water; and the little coverings of silk, which were protecting the gold letters lest they bleed together from the contact of the pages, were pulled away by the force of the river."[135] A Greek manuscript of the Gospels now kept in the Bodleian Library, Cromwell 16 dating to the late tenth century, shows some veils which are likely to be medieval in date.[136] Sciacca further points to a Byzantine example surviving in the Getty Museum (ms Ludwig II 5).[137] If these veils were part of the revised Lincoln College Typikon from the moment the frontispieces were included onward, they may well have served a double purpose: protective as well as performative. As Connor says, "[t]his evidence suggests that the portraits were part of private liturgical dramas as they were revealed to donors, and as the Virgin and Child of Bebaia Elpis were revealed to offer reassurance to the nuns of the convent or other important visitors."[138] It follows that the portrait series in its careful communication of hierarchies, genealogies and family structures would have been an interrupted one, subject to rather conscious acts of unveiling.[139]

Connor persuasively observes that the act of unveiling is likely to have evoked associations with contemporary liturgical practices, such as the ritualized veiling and unveiling of icons.[140] Circumstantial evidence comes from the Lincoln College Typikon itself. Theodora's "beloved nephew," Ioannes Komnenos Doukas Angelos Branas Palaiologos, son of the *despoina* of the Bulgarians, donated to the convent "a gold icon of the all-holy Theotokos, all [decorated] with pearls, and with eight precious stones, four red, the other four light blue, together with a veil all [covered with] pearls, what they call *syrmatinon*,[141] bearing an image of my all-holy Theotokos."[142] When this splendid icon was unveiled on festive occasions, the scene may have been similar to the setting depicted on the frontispiece of the Hamilton Psalter (fig. 11).[143] That chrysography was used in painting the divine figures in the Lincoln College Typikon—the small blessing busts of the Theotokos and Christ present on all miniatures except the concluding three as well as, first and foremost, the splendid Theotokos of Certain Hope (fol. 10v = fig. 1, left)—further emphasizes the relation between the divine parts of the frontispiece series and icons.[144] Such unveiling may also have evoked memories of past miracles such as the so-called "usual

134 C. Sciacca, "Raising the Curtain on the Use of Textiles in Manuscripts," in *Weaving, Veiling, and Dressing: Textiles and their Metaphors in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. K. M. Rudy and B. Baert (Turnhout, 2007), 161–90 at 171. I owe this reference to Professor Linda Safran, to whom I am much obliged.

135 See C. Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots: A Life in Perspective* (New York, 2013), 209: *tandem in profundo fluminis apertus iacere reperitur, ita ut illius folia impetu aque sine cessacione agitarentur, et panniculi de serico violencia fluminis abstraherentur, qui litteras aureas ne foliorum contactu obfuscarentur contexerant*. Keene's translation.

136 The veils covering—clearly for protection—the canon tables on fols. 23r, 25r, and 27r seem medieval, as does the veil covering St. Matthew on fol. 36v, which is pictured in M. Brown, ed., *In the Beginning: Bibles before the Year 1000* (Washington, DC, 2006), 283–84 (cat. 45). The decoration of the manuscript remained incomplete and no further evangelist portraits were executed. Fabric further down in the manuscript, on fols. 172r, 183r, and 282r (ornamental gates), may well be later additions or replacements. Fol. 123r shows stitches. I am grateful to Dr. Martin Kauffmann for bringing this example to my attention.

137 Sciacca, "Raising the Curtain," 169.

138 Connor, *Women of Byzantium*, 303.

139 Brubaker, "Pictures Are Good" (n. 128 above), 229–33 and Hennessy, "Lincoln College Typikon" (n. 50 above).

140 Connor, *Women of Byzantium*, 303.

141 On *syrmatinos* see also R. Macrides, J. A. Munitiz, and D. Angelov, *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and Ceremonies* (Farnham, 2014), 329–32.

142 LCT 93.22–26 (§142), trans. *BMFD* 4:1562: δέδωκε γὰρ εἰκόνισμα χρυσοῦν, τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον, ὅλον μετὰ μαργάρων, ἔχον καὶ λιθάρια ὀκτώ, τὰ μὲν τέσσαρα κοκκίνου, ἠερανὰ δὲ τὰ ἕτερα τέσσαρα, μετὰ καλύμματος ὁλομαργάρου, ὃ καλοῦσι συρμάτινον, τὴν στήλην ἔχον τῆς ὑπεραγίας μου Θεοτόκου.

143 On the Hamilton Psalter frontispiece see A. W. Carr, "Frontispiece to the Hamilton Psalter," in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, ed. H. Evans (New York and New Haven, 2004), 153–54 (cat. 77) with further bibliography; Connor, *Women of Byzantium*, 303.

144 Hutter, *Corpus*, 61; Connor, *Women of Byzantium*, 282 and 303–4.

miracle" (τὸ συνηθὲς θαῦμα),[145] i.e., the miraculous unveiling of the icon of the Theotokos Blachernitissa which duly occurred, according to many an eyewitness, every Friday at the church of the Blachernai in pre-1204 Constantinople. However, it is not attested in the Palaiologan period.[146]

Connor imagines "private liturgical drama" if and when the portraits were shown to (lay) members of the family;[147] one wonders whether the codex may have been used beyond the superior's chambers and the *skeuophylakion*, in the physical space of the monastery or, with regard to this surviving master copy, perhaps rather its church/*katholikon*.[148] Using a series of epigrams which Theodora Synadene commissioned from Manuel Philes, Brooks has recently presented convincing evidence for a wooden panel featuring a portrait with repoussé frame of the *sebastokrator* Konstantinos Palaiologos, (possibly) his wife Eirene, and their first son Michael, Theodora's elder brother.[149]

FIG. 11 Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett 78 A 9 (Hamilton Psalter), fol. 39v (© Kupferstichkabinett. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)

Brooks further plausibly suggests that Konstantinos's and Eirene's tomb was relocated to the convent of the Theotokos of Certain Hope at some point after its

145 On the usual miracle, attested from the mid-eleventh century onward to the Fourth Crusade, see V. Grumel, "Le 'miracle habituel' de Notre-Dame des Blachernes," *EO* 30 (1931): 129–46; B. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, PA, 2006), 145–63.

146 Grumel, "Miracle habituel," 142.

147 As Connor, *Women of Byzantium*, 303 suggests; of course, this is a hypothetical assumption.

148 Hutter, *Corpus*, fig. 208 shows the present, early fifteenth-century binding: while this binding is still of Byzantine origins, the original one may have been more elaborate, such as the binding of Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms Barocci 31, from the so-called Palaiologina group; cf. Buchthal and Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople* (n. 61 above), fig. C and http://viewer.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/icv/page.php?book=ms._barocci_31 (accessed 19 September 2015).

149 S. T. Brooks, "Poetry and Female Patronage in Late Byzantine Tomb Decoration: Two Epigrams by Manuel Philes," *DOP* 60 (2006): 223–48, esp. 229–30, 237–48. Brooks's observation adds Philes to the intricate network of Theodora Synadene's patronage; Philes' rhetorical strategies in this piece rather contrast with those described by E. Pietsch, *Beseelte Bilder: Epigramme des Manuel Philes auf bildliche Darstellungen* (Vienna, 2010). Interestingly, Theodora's brothers Michael/Makarios and Andronikos/Arsenios and her sister Maria/Mariamne are commemorated but not depicted in the LCT (§§137–39), which, pictorially, features Theodora's line only. While of very different function, the roughly contemporary reveted icon commissioned by Konstantinos Akropolites and his wife, Maria Komnene Tornikina Akropolitissa—Evans, *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, 28–30 (cat. 4); the icon measures 40 × 32 cm—or the small reveted icon commissioned by Theodora's granddaughter Anna Palaiologina Kantakouzene Philanthropene, nowadays in the possession of Vatopedi monastery on Mt. Athos but originally donated to the convent of the Theotokos of Certain Hope, give an idea of what this panel may have looked like. This Anna Philanthropene is usually identified with Theodora's granddaughter Anna, who, as nun Xene and presumably at a very advanced age, restored the convent in 1391/92: LCT 104.31–5.24 (§159), trans. *BMFD* 4:1568; the incipit of her now-lost epigram suggests that this icon was conceived of as a donation to the convent of Certain Hope. On this icon, which measures 17 × 23 cm, with a badly damaged gilt silver revetment, and comparable pieces, see now A. Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst* (Vienna, 2010), 91–94 (no. Ik26); A.-M. Talbot, "Female Patronage in the Palaiologan Era: Icons, Minor Arts, and Manuscripts," in Theis et al., *Female Founders* (n. 4 above), 259–74, esp. 260–63; and J. Durand, "Precious-Metal Icon Revetments," in Evans, *Byzantium: Faith and Power*, 243–51 with figs. 8.6 and 8.8. The classic study is A. Grabar, *Les revêtements en or et en argent des icônes byzantines du moyen âge* (Venice, 1975), 60–62 (no. 32) and fig. 69; Grabar's identification of Anna Philanthropene with the eponymous empress of Trebizond (*PLP* #29736) is obsolete.

inauguration (ca. 1300) whereas Theodora's brother Michael was buried in another tomb jointly with her late husband, Ioannes Synadenos.[150] The question arises as to the role the typikon, as an objectified text, and its illuminations might have played on the prescribed memorial days.[151] Did the codex have a function in the liturgies performed in commemorating the dead, even at their graves?[152] As most tombs featured depictions of the deceased—be this as repoussé panels or, more commonly, frescoes[153]—the portraits in the codex were strictly speaking not necessary to visualize the objects of commemoration.[154] However, one might also imagine a double approach in which both codex and tomb portraits would have come to play a role, with the codex being carried in procession or to remind the nuns in situ of the benefactions received. Such questions touch on the larger and little researched issue of the function book illuminations may have played during performances. Were they meant simply to entertain privileged individual readers or were they occasionally displayed to larger audiences? In a Trapezuntine context, Trahoulia suggests that the latter may have been the case with the Venice codex of the Alexander romance (Istituto Ellenico, MS gr. 5).[155]

Given the quasi-imperial nature of the Lincoln College Typikon portraits, it may be possible to draw a yet wider net of cultural connotations. Leslie Brubaker emphasized the strict frontality of these family portraits. Without doubt, they were modeled on contemporary imperial portraits, of which there was no shortage under Andronikos II.[156] Before their golden backgrounds the representations appear angelic/imperial rather than corporeal, underlining the *genos*'s imperial origins as well as Theodora Synadene's societal aspirations.[157] Yet for imperial portraits, and by implication the Lincoln College Typikon frontispieces as well, other contexts may have come to the contemporary observer's mind, such as the ceremony of *prokypsis*, enshrined in Pseudo-Kodinos's famous description of the Christmas Eve ceremonial at the Palaiologan court.[158] Perceivably, both the gold background of imperial portraits and the *prokypsis* took their

150 H. Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft*, AbhHeid, Phil.-hist. Kl. (Heidelberg, 1970), 31–32, 76–77, argued that the portraits in the typikon established the right to be buried in the monastery's *katholikon*; this falls somewhat short as an explanation.

151 LCT 80.5–82.20, 91.1–94.14 (§§113–19, 134–45), trans. *BMFD* 4:1555–56, 1561–62. Note also two marginal notes in red ink, added by hand *B*: πε(ρ)ὶ τοῦ κτήτορος in the lower margin of fol. 123r and πε(ρ)ὶ τῶν δύο κτητορισῶν (*sic*) in the upper margin of fol. 124r. Also in Euphrosyne's additional *hypotyposis*, hand *B* indicates chapter titles in the margins rather than inserting them into the main text as in the original typikon, albeit by a later hand (*D*).

152 On the architectural context Marinis, *Architecture and Ritual* (n. 11 above), 108–9.

153 While awaiting S. Brooks's monograph see her "Women's Authority in Death: The Patronage of Aristocratic Laywomen in Late Byzantium," in Theis et al., *Female Founders*, 317–32.

154 I am grateful to Dr. Georgi Parpulov for raising this point. On immovable funeral panels, see also A. W. Carr, "A Palaiologan Funerary Icon from Gothic Cyprus," in *Πρακτικά του τρίτου διεθνούς κυπρολογικού συνεδρίου (Λευκωσία, 16–20 Απριλίου 1996)*, vol. 2, *Μεσαιωνικό τμήμα*, ed. A. Papageorgiou (Nicosia, 2001), 2:599–619, repr. in eadem, *Cyprus and the Devotional Arts of Byzantium in the Era of the Crusades* (Aldershot, 2005), no. IX.

155 N. S. Trahoulia, "The Venice Alexander Romance: Pictorial Narrative and the Art of Telling Stories," in *History as Literature in Byzantium: Papers from the Fortieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, April 2007*, ed. R. Macrides (Farnham, 2012), 145–65, esp. 148–49, 161.

156 In view of recent evidence, it might make sense to rethink the economy of imperial portraits, not only on parchment, under the early Palaiologoi, especially Andronikos II and his heir apparent, Michael IX. See A. W. Carr, "Three Illuminated Chrysobulls of Andronikos II?" *Nea Rhome* 6 (2009): 451–64; A. Christidou, "Ερευνώντας την ιστορία μέσα από άγνωστα βυζαντινά αυτοκρατορικά πορτρέτα σε εκκλησίες της Αλβανίας," in *Ανταπόδοση*, ed. S. Arvaniti (Athens, 2010), 537–62 and eadem, "Unknown Byzantine Art in the Balkan Area: Art, Power and Patronage in Twelfth to Fourteenth-Century Churches in Albania" (PhD diss., Courtauld Institute, 2011), 269–74; and H. Gickler, *Kaiser Michael IX. Palaiologos (1278 bis 1320)* (Frankfurt/Main, 2015), 35–46—and how the LCT images may relate to this economy. See also C. J. Hilsdale, *Byzantine Art and Diplomacy in an Age of Decline* (Cambridge, 2014), 3–13, 27–197.

157 Brubaker, "Pictures Are Good" (n. 128 above), 230–31; H. Maguire, "Style and Ideology in Byzantine Imperial Art," *Gesta* 28, no. 2 (1990): 217–31, esp. 221–29.

158 J. Verpeaux, ed., *Pseudo-Kodinos: Traité des offices* (Paris, 1966), 195.11–204.23; Macrides et al., *Pseudo-Kodinos* (n. 141 above), 126–47. In order to explain the emergence and connotations of such imperial portraits—the earliest surviving examples are in the famous Coislin. 79, fols. 2r and 2bis v (ibid., figs. 7 and 8)—Maguire, "Style and Ideology," esp. 222–25 convincingly draws on imperial panegyrics; perceivably though, court rituals and ceremonials may have played a role, too. For *prokypsis*-like ceremonies avant-la-lettre see M. G. Parani, "'Rise Like the Sun, the God-Inspired Kingship': Light-Symbolism and the Uses of Artificial Lighting in Middle and Late Byzantine Imperial Ceremonial," in *Hierotopy of Light and Fire in the Culture of the Byzantine World*, ed. A Lidov (Moscow, 2013), 159–84, esp. 168–69.

inspiration from the imperial "sun of righteousness."[159] Just as the emperor in all his glory appeared from a golden-fiery background on that wooden stage in the courtyard of the Blachernai palace, when the curtains hiding him were suddenly drawn,[160] so the protagonists of the Palaiologos-Branas-Synadenos family may have appeared from the gilded parchment leaves of the Lincoln College Typikon in the sumptuous, lustrous candlelight reserved for memorial services and feast days once the veil was lifted. This remains hypothetical, of course, for one cannot know if the frontispieces were ever displayed in such contexts. Either way, Theodora Synadene made ample prescriptions regarding the lighting for the memorial services of the most important members of her family: "You should decorate the holy and most revered church of the Mother of God in the evening, and you should prepare the six candelabra, and they should all be filled at that time with candles, and all should be prepared for lighting."[161] For the feast of the holy Dormition, which may have provided another opportunity to unveil the images of the founding family, the typikon states: "you should . . . provide for splendid illumination, with six candelabra all filled with candles appropriate for this great and splendid feast day. You should also light all the small chandeliers, I mean those usually called *polykandela*."[162] If the frontispieces were unveiled on such feast days one can imagine how the members of the foundress's family, the foundresses, or the Theotokos of Certain Hope herself would have appeared as if in *prokypsis* to the awestruck nuns of the convent of Certain Hope.[163] Gregoras's report of Ioannes V's 1341/42 Christmas and Epiphany *prokypseis* suggests that "crowds" were present during the ceremony:[164] knowledge of it is likely to have pervaded the populace of Constantinople and may thus have reverberated with the nuns secluded in the convent of the Theotokos of Certain Hope. Much of this argument seems to hold true even if the portraits were not originally veiled. As most images occupied a complete opening by themselves (fig. 2) and liturgical veils were available,[165] ritually opening the codex or lifting a veil to uncover it, while candles were flickering nearby, may have produced a comparable effect.

Finally, this observation may allow cautious insights into the relation of this branch of the Palaiologos clan to the family's ruling nucleus. Even if we cast the period of the family's bloom more widely than the three years during which Theodoros Synadenos held the office of *eparchos* of Constantinople (1328–31)—i.e., to the post-1321 period as Kyritses suggests[166]—only in the late 1320s or early 1330s was the way family members were referred to refashioned[167] and their quasi-imperial representations added. The question arises as to what extent the typikon's pictorial agenda was tied into not only the peak of Theodoros's career but, more generally, rivalries among the different branches of the Palaiologoi. Uniquely among Andronikos II's male relatives of that generation, Theodora Synadene's sons were not referred to as the emperor's nephews—not in the typikon and also not elsewhere, as far as I can see—and do not seem to have played any role in this emperor's marriage policies. On the contrary, Theodoros Synadenos's father in law, Theodoros Doukas Mouzakios, had been involved in

159 Parani, "Light-Symbolism," 174–75, with further bibliography. Maguire, "Style and Ideology," 224 equally sees a connection of such imperial portraits to divine virtues: "portraits which are lofty, stuff, and straight . . . which shine with the light of the emperor's virtues."

160 Most recently, Macrides et al., *Pseudo-Kodinos*, 368–69, 401–11, with further bibliography. Already A. Bryer, "Greek Historians on the Turks: The Case of the First Byzantine-Ottoman Marriage," in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, ed. R. H. C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford, 1981), 471–93 at 483 suggested that the late Byzantine imperial group portrait was the visual expression of the *prokypsis* ceremony. Parani, "Light-Symbolism," esp. 172–75 (with further references) points out that the way of how lighting was achieved is never described, and thus not fully understood (174); see also M. Jeffreys, "The Comnenian Prokypsis," *Parergon* 5 (1987): 38–53, esp. 42.

161 LCT 80.15–18 (§113), trans. *BMFD* 4:1555.

162 LCT 79.15–18 (§112), trans. *BMFD* 4:1555.

163 On gilded background in flickering light see R. Franses, "When All That Is Gold Does Not Glitter: On the Strange History of Viewing Byzantine Art," in *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium*, ed. L. James and A. Eastmond (Ashgate, 2003), 13–24; also *RBK* 2:882–83 s.v. "Goldgrund."

164 L. Schopen and I. Bekker, eds., *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina historia* (Bonn, 1829–55), 2:616.16–618.5.

165 I owe this idea to Professor Lioba Theis. See also *RBK* 5:811 s.v. "Skepe" on icon veils.

166 See above, n. 52. Hutter's request for a monographic study of Theodoros Synadenos has yet remained unanswered ("Geschichte" [n. 10 above], 113–14).

167 See above, n. 55. Hutter, "Geschichte," 91 emphasizes that cumulative family names came in only at this stage.

Drimys' rebellion,[168] yet early into Andronikos III's reign (r. 1328–41), or so it would seem, they chose to display themselves in quasi-imperial splendor.

Conclusions

While largely accepting Hutter's persuasive chronological reconstruction of the foundation and (re)construction of the convent of the Theotokos of Certain Hope between 1285 and ca. 1300, this essay suggests a somewhat alternative history of the Lincoln College Typikon. Against the view that it was an accidentally surviving surplus copy dating ca. 1300, which was then retrieved from oblivion, updated and upgraded around 1330, the petty clerical errors characterizing the manuscript suggest a different history. It was not beyond Euphrosyne Synadene's financial means to commission a new manuscript of the quality of the roughly contemporary typikon of the convent of the Theotokos of Lips/the Holy Anargyroi; certainly so if manuscripts of such calligraphic quality could be produced in nunneries, with or without rubrication. The mere fact then that this option was not chosen seems to add support to the idea that the handwriting of the Lincoln College Typikon carried some special (spiritual or emotional) rather than material value, i.e., that it was written by a nun whose hand mattered to Theodora and, especially, Euphrosyne, who oversaw the current volume's final production, as well as to the nuns of the convent, and that this particular manuscript was kept for this reason.

From this perspective, the depiction of Theodora/Theodoule and Euphrosyne as co-foundresses on fol. 11r (fig. 1, right), with the mother dedicating a model of the convent's *katholikon* and the daughter the codex containing the typikon together with the imperial chrysobull confirming the foundation, might gain even more significance.[169] While almost self-evident, this image's importance is further suggested by the arrangement of the whole portrait sequence. Brubaker has drawn attention to the fact that only after the complete gallery of family portraits had been surveyed, arranged hierarchically generation by generation, the observer encountered the Theotokos, "Certain Hope" personified (fig. 1, left). While the nine family portraits lead toward this full figure of the Theotokos, the final two images refer back to her, which places the Mother of God at the ideological and visual, albeit not spatial, climax of the whole sequence.[170] In the original (and present) arrangement of portraits and illuminations only two pairs of images were fixed on corresponding folios; all others occupy an opening by themselves (fig. 2). First, the parents of the foundress and the founding couple, for practical as well as ideological reasons;[171] second, the Theotokos with the two founding superiors, Theodora/Theodoule Synadene and her daughter Euphrosyne (fig. 1). Both, as well as the famous group of nuns on the following recto, refer back to the Theotokos who, in turn, gestures toward the founding superiors. There can thus be no doubt about a visually created special relationship among Euphrosyne, the typikon, and the Theotokos of Certain Hope. There has recently been a debate about the date of this particular miniature: was it executed in the 1330s as a compliment to Euphrosyne, as Hutter suggests? Or already around 1300, when Euphrosyne would indeed have been a teenager, as Hennessy suggests?[172] Yet it might make just as much sense to assume that figures were executed in relation to each other, rather than reflecting "reality"; hence Euphrosyne's slightly reduced size when compared to her mother. If with Hutter one settles on the later date, one possible solution is offered by Spatharakis: "Since we have no reason to believe that she [i.e., Euphrosyne] contributed to the compilation of her mother's Typicon, this

168 See also N. Gaul, "All the Emperor's Men (and His Nephews)," forthcoming.

169 Cavallo, "*Typika ktetorika*," 521. On the issue of the seal, see also O. Kresten's review of I. Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften*, vol. 5, *JÖB* 49 (1999): 386–94, esp. 389–90 and de Gregorio, "Epigrammi e documenti" (n. 14 above), 41n130.

170 Brubaker, "Pictures Are Good" (n. 128 above), 231–33. On the ceremonial dresses see also M. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th–15th Centuries)* (Leiden, 2003), 51–80; eadem, "Cultural Identity and Dress: The Case of Late Byzantine Ceremonial Costume," *JÖB* 57 (2007): 95–134; and Macrides et al., *Pseudo-Kodinos*, 351–56.

171 Practical in order to protect the opening image by placing it on the verso rather than the recto of the first folio, ideological as in this way the distinguished "golden chain" of this particular branch of the Palaiologos, Branas, and Synadenos families would become even more visible, descending as they were from a brother of the first ruling Palaiologos, the *sebastokrator* Konstantinos.

172 Hutter, "Geschichte," 111; Hennessy, *Images of Children* (n. 41 above), 107.

representation can be explained only if we place its execution after her own additions to the rule of the monastery."[173] Hennessy, on the other hand, suggests that the image underlines that Euphrosyne "was to be entrusted with the foundation," as a preview of the future, and concludes: "This copy [of the typikon] may well have been intended for her personal use."[174]

If Hennessy was right to argue that the portrait, or rather its model, accurately reflects/reflected Euphrosyne's age at the time of manufacture, as a teenager presenting the typikon, or if one was otherwise inclined to assign some significance to Euphrosyne's presenting the typikon, the chances of identifying the very nun who wrote the typikon seem to increase: in this case the most straightforward answer would certainly be that it was young Euphrosyne who copied her mother's typikon manuscript, hence the relative inexperience of the hand. This act was enshrined in the miniature, depicting her presenting to the Theotokos the very codex she had produced with her own hands. Euphrosyne prized it so much that she ensured the codex was updated and upgraded decades later. There may have been a calligraphic exemplar commissioned by Theodora Synadene which Euphrosyne chose to replace with her own copy, or the very manuscript we have today, with all its idiosyncrasies and imperfections, may have been the master copy almost from the very beginning,[175] to be transformed into its present state only over the course of time.

However this may be, what seems certain in the light of the typikon's spiritual and material value is that this surviving copy was chosen for a good reason. This essay has ventured to suggest one such reason; it is in the nature of things that we are unlikely ever to have a definite answer.

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173 Spatharakis, *Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (n. 113 above), 203.

174 Hennessy, *Images of Children*, 107.

175 Such long-lived use might best explain some obvious "shortcomings" of the LCT, such as the absence of a title: see Hutter, "Geschichte," 106.

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Corrections in the Lincoln College Typikon

The scribal errors *A* committed are listed below: written on erasure; ⟨word(s) added in the process of correcting the text⟩; "squeezed" in above the line/in between the lines; descending in the inner margin; (tachygraphic abbreviation); line | changes. Parenthetical references are to folia in the manuscript; superscript, to page and line numbers in the edition of Delehaye, who recorded in his apparatus some but not all of the following corrections.

(14v) [19.4] ἐκκλησίας ἐν ταῖς — (16r) [20.5] ἡλίκων καὶ ὅσα [20.11] εὐαγῇ τινα — (16v) [20.19] ἑαυτῆς μαθη | ταῖς καθαρ(ῶς) — (17v) [21.3] κ(αὶ) ⟨τ(ὴν)⟩ εἰς — (18r) [21.13] ἀλλὰ ⟨γε⟩ δὴ — (18v) [22.1] κ(αὶ) ⟨ὡς⟩ πάντων [22.2] φύσ(ις) ἐφίετ(αι) — (20v) [23.3] κ(αὶ) ὥρα ἀσυγκρίτῳ, ψυχ(ῶν) ἀρετῇ | εἰλικρινεστάτῃ [23.5] εὐδαιμονίζετ(αι) ἄν(θρωπ)ος; τ(ῶν) κα | θ' — (22r) [24.4] περιφανεστέρῳ ⟨(δὲ)⟩ τὰ [24.5] ὕτος [*sic*] εἰς κομνηνοὺς ⟨μὲν⟩ καὶ συναδηνοὺς [24.8] δὲ ⟨κ(αὶ)⟩ — (22v) [24.24] τοῖς ὀνείρ(οις) ⟨ἔτι⟩ τ. — (24r) [25.25] μάρτυσι | θ(εῷ) καὶ ἀγγέλ(οις) [25.28] ἀπωρφανισμέν(ων) ⟨μου⟩ τέκνων — (24v) [26.2] χεῖρα κ(αὶ) πάντα | . . . [26.12] κἀγὼ κ(αὶ) τ(ῆς) τρεπτῆς — (25v) [26.25] οὐ μᾶλλον ⟨ἢ⟩ οἱ ταῖς [26.29] ὅτι ⟨τὰ⟩ κατ' εὐδοκίαν [26.31] καὶ κατ' εὐχὰς → κ(αὶ) ⟨τὰ⟩ κατ' εὐχὰς — (28r) [28.20] ἀληθῶς ⟨δεδιὼς⟩ καὶ — (28v) [29.2] μονὰ — (30v) [30.12] ὑπερπονεῖ — (33r) [32.11] πᾶν ⟨τὸ⟩ τῶν παρθέν(ων) — (33v) [32.18] ἔχει ⟨κ(αὶ)⟩ γνώσ(εως) — (34r) [32.33] κ(αὶ) βραχέα μ(ὲν) — (35r) [33.18] προσέχουσαι [from προσέχαι] — (36v) [34.15] ἐργῶδες — (37r) [34.30] ἀδύνατος [from — ον] — (39r) [36.2] μεταγράψει⟨ς⟩ [36.8] ἐνατενίσουσι ⟨τρόπ(ον)⟩ | καὶ τὰ ἑαυτ(ῶν) μεταμορφώσουσι — (40v) [37.5] ἔνδον — (43r) [38.11] τὸ διάφορον δείξεις [38.16] παρὰ | τῆς σῆς ἐπαινετῆς — (44r) [39.4] οὐδ' | ὁμοί(ως) παρ' ἡμ(ῖν) φυλάττοντ(αι) καὶ ἀμφότ(ε)ρ(οι)· κἂν ἡμ(ῶν) ὁμοί(ως) | ὁ τόνος καὶ ἀμφοτ(έ)ρ(ων) αὐτῶν ἅπτητ(αι) — (45r) [39.19] ἐπικου | φίζουσα δι' οἰκεί(αν) χρηστότ(η)τ(α) [39.22] κεκλῆσθαι ὀνόματι — (46r) [40.13] πολυπόθ⟨ητ⟩ον — (47v) [41.7] ἀδελφῶν ⟨αὐτ(ὴ)⟩ — (48r) [41.13] ὑμῶν ⟨κ(αὶ)⟩ αὐτὴ ἀποδώσει ⟨τὸν⟩ λόγον — (50r) [42.26] γὰρ ⟨κ(αὶ)⟩ ἐν τούτοις — (51r) [43.7] τὸ κατ' ἰδί(αν) ⟨θέλησ(ιν)⟩ ποιεῖν [43.9] ἄγαν — (51v) [43.13] ἵνα μὴ ἃ ⟨ἂν⟩ θέλοιτε — (52v) [43.31] ἀλλήλαις —(53r) [44.10] τῆς ἀρετῆς — (56r) [45.25] ὑμετέρα ⟨δὴ⟩ ταύτῃ — (57r) [46.14] ἐπειδὴ τοι κ(αὶ) αὗται μετὰ τ(ὴν) κοιν(ὴν) μ(ητέ)ρα — (58v) [47.4] ἵνα κ(αὶ) μηδὲν [47.6] ἄνωθεν ⟨προσ⟩ευχαῖς — (59r) [47.15] καθαρ⟨ει⟩ότη(τα) — (59v) [47.19] πολλ(ὴν) ⟨πρόνοι(αν)⟩ ποι | ήσεται — (60v) [48.9] ἀκμαῖον — (61v) [48.30] ταῦτα | ⟨δὴ⟩ — (62r) [49.5] ταμεί(οις) μ(ε)τὰ πολλῆς ἀκριβεί(ας) | ταῖς — (63r) [49.25] (δὲ) κ(αὶ) — (65v) [51.11] . . . | κ(αὶ) τ(ῆς) εἰς — (66v) [51.28] πόρρωθ(εν) ⟨μόν(ον) | τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ τ(ὸν) ἅγ(ιον) οἶκον, κ(αὶ) τ(ὰς) θείας αὐλὰς αὐτοῦ ὄψεσθε οὐ(δὲ) πόρρωθεν⟩ s. l. | μόνον — (67r) [52.8] ⟨μοι⟩ s. l. — (68r) [52.27] ?⟨φό⟩βῳ — (69r) [53.10] τὸν ἑαυτῶν ⟨κ(αὶ)⟩ δεσπότην [53.16] συνεπείγοισθε — (69v) [53.22] τοῦτο | ⟨ποι(εῖν)⟩ [from τοῦ | το] — (70v) [54.11] πόθου — (72r) [55.3] διορθώσ(ε)τ(αι) ⟨δὲ⟩ [55.8] κ(αὶ) ⟨τοῦτο⟩ — (74r) [56.5] προσέχουσαι — (74v) [56.14] τοῦτο τεθῇ εἰς τὸ ἔχειν — (76r) [57.11] εὐόμι | λος τε οὖσα — (79r) [58.32] καὶ [the erasure causing a hole in the parchment around which the omicron opening the last line on fol. 79v is then encapsulating] — (81r) [60.1] τῆς — (82r) [60.23] ἀποστ(ό)λων | χορὸς — (83r) [61.2] ψηφίσετε [from φηφ.] — (84v) [61.28] σπουδῆς — (85r) [62.9] τῆς[1] — (85v) [62.16] σώματι ⟨πάντ(ο)τε⟩ περὶ — (86r) [62.25] πολλή ⟨τις⟩ | . . . — (86v) [63.3] ἐκεῖ — (88v) [63.32] ἄλλως — (89r) [64.12] ὑμεῖς — (89v) [64.14] ἀπαραλείπτως — (92r) [65.28] σάββασι [an attempt to trim the line?] — (93r) [66.5] ὡς μὴ ⟨ἡ⟩ ἀνισότης — (94v) [67.1] ἐξουσία [from ἐξουσίαι] — (95v) [67.19] τοῖς ⟨αὐλ(οῖς)⟩ τῶν — (96v) [68.4] ⟨κ(αὶ)⟩ — (97r) [68.9] τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ εἰπόντος — (97v) [68.14] ⟨τῆς⟩ s. l. [68.16] τὸ ζῆν — (98v) [68.29] βραχύτατον — (99r) [69.5] ⟨ἐ|σ⟩κόρπισεν — (99v) [69.14] τὸ τούτου — (100r) [69.23] ⟨ταύτην⟩ | . . . — (102r) [70.23] θεραπεί(ας) ⟨οὕτ(ως)⟩ ἀξιοῦται — (102v) [70.29] αὖ [somewhat enlarged in order to fill the space] — (105v) [72.17] ἔχουσαι ⟨καὶ⟩ κινοῦσαι — (106v) [72.31] μέγ(αν) ἐστι [73.1] τοῦτ' εἶ|ναι — (107v) [73.15] κοινῶν ⟨καμ(ά)τ(ων)⟩ κ(αὶ) πόνων — (108v) [73.30] ὥρας ἱκαν(ῶς) — (110r)

74.23 ἐκεῖνα ⟨τὰ ἐνδύμ(α)τα⟩ — (111r) 75.8 περιρρέοντα — (113r) 76.3 εἴ γε ταῖς ἀληθείαις — (113v) *76.15 γνήσια γνήσια [γν.[2] crossed out in red ink, presumably by scribe *D*] — (114r) 76.17 βδελυγξόμεθα δὲ 76.19 ⟨οὖν⟩ add. s. l. — (115r) 77.1 ὡς ἡ[s.l.] ἐξομολόγησις 77.7 τὰς — (116r) 77.16 θριαμβευόμενοι ⟨εἴρηκ(εν)⟩ | [ει from ο, ρ from ι] — (116v) 77.26 πρ(οσ) | πταίουσαι καὶ προσκρούουσαι | ὡς πληροῦσθαι τὸ τῆς 76.28 τοῖχον κ(αὶ) | ὡς — (117r) 78.3 κ(αὶ) τοῦτο ὡς ἀληθ(ῶς) — (117v) 78.13 μ(ὲν) οὖν τὸ πρόσωπ(ον) τοῦ — (119r) 79.7 καθ' ⟨ἕκαστον⟩ | ἔτος — (119v) 79.9 ἄρα καὶ ⟨τὸ⟩ τοιοῦτον 79.14 ⟨ἦν⟩ — (120v) 79.28 τέτταρα. — (127r) 83.17 ὑμῶν 83.18 ⟨οὕτως⟩ in marg. ἀφίημι ὑμῖν[176] ταῖς — (137r) 88.9 καὶ τῆς — (137v) 88.15 ἀγαθ(ῇ) τε κ(αὶ) 88.16 εἰς τριάκοντα 88.17 μεγάλῃ 88.18 ἀκουόντων — (138v) 88.30 αὐτὰ — (139r) 89.6 εὐαγγελία· ⟨κ(αὶ)⟩ εἰ 89.8 μὲν gravis in ras. — (140v) 89.27 ἀσθενεστάτῃ 90.1 μέγ(α) λα ⟨μὲν⟩ in marg.

There are further uncorrected antistoichic and grammatical mistakes—as noted in Delehaye's apparatus criticus—which escaped *A*'s, or her supervisor's, attention.

176 Omitted by Delehaye.

Scribe *B* commited errors as well but less frequently than *A* and most are minor. Her mistakes rarely affect more than a few letters so that no changes of layout occur, with the exception of fol. 129v, where three and a half[177] lines are written on erasure. Intriguingly, however, she misspelt, and corrected, the foundress's family name, Βραναίνης, twice: fols. 123v and 145r;[178] equally, fol. 123v Λασκαρίνας is corrected to Λασκαρίνης by means of an eta inserted above the line.[179] Finally, an intriguing erasure can be found on fol. 124r, where several letters, presumably a whole word, were removed right before Euphrosyne's name: τῆς δὲ περιποθήτου ἡμῶν [*erasure*] θυγατρὸς κυρᾶς Εὐφροσύνης τῆς Παλαιολογίνης.[180] This omission is glossed over, as much as possible, by a red stroke toward the end of line 9 as well as a tail to the initial tau introducing the chapter, which fills the vacant space at the beginning of line 10.

177 LCT 84.21–22 (§123): ὡσαύτως ἀφίημι ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ πέραν ταύτης τῆς βασιλίδος τῶν πόλεων ἐν ταῖς Πηγαῖς διακείμενον.

178 LCT 81.20 (§116) and 92.20 (§139). Effenberger, "Zu den Eltern der Maria Dukaina" (n. 3 above), 170 shows various possible misspellings of Branaina.

179 LCT 81.21 (§116).

180 LCT 81.28 (§118).